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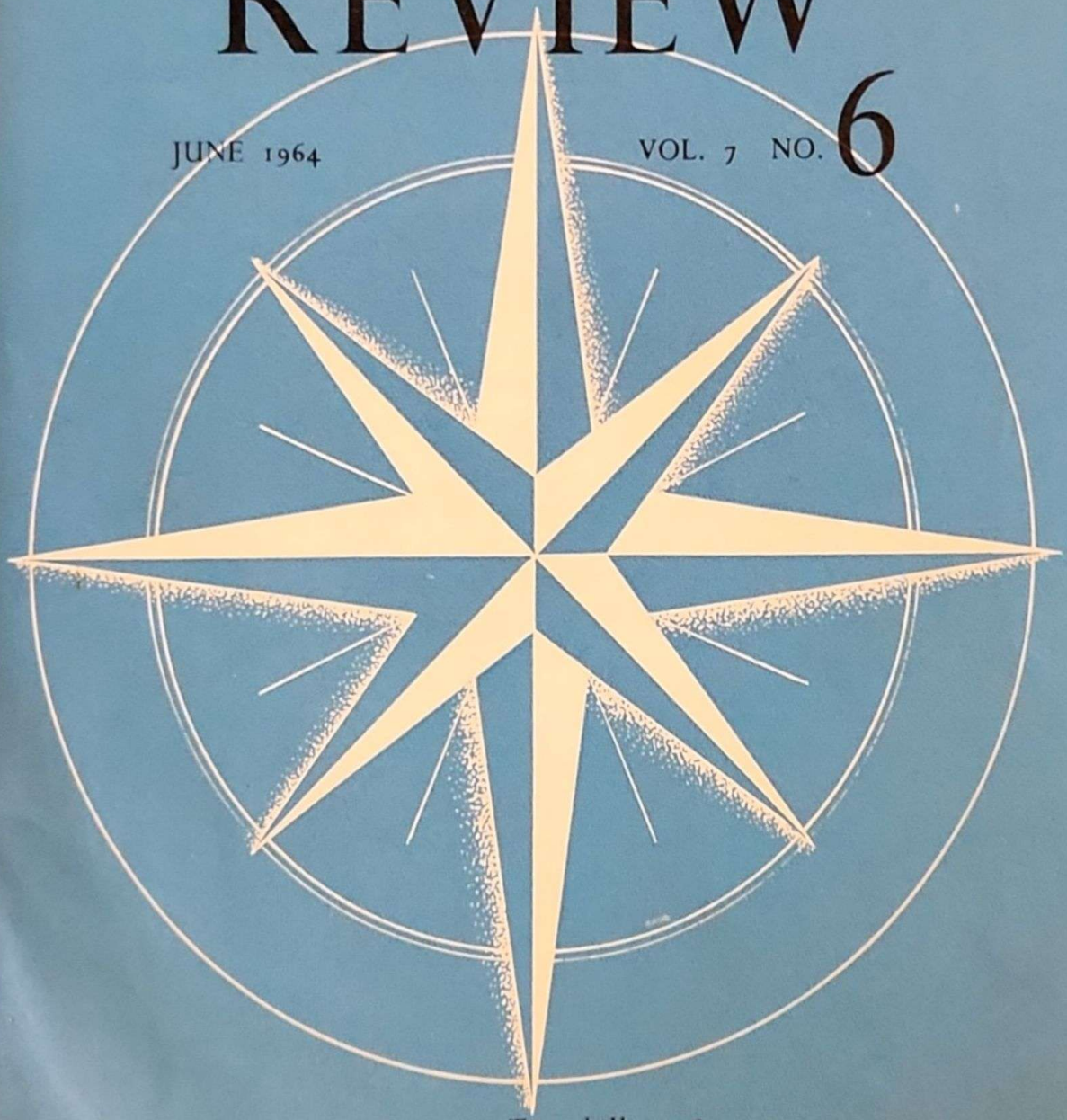

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Workers of all lands, unite!

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Socialist Revolution and the Bourgeois State

ERKKI TUOMINEN

The Problem of Revolution is Bound up with the Problem of the State

The question of revolution is an abstract one unless it is coupled with the question of the State. "Political power," Lenin wrote, "is undoubtedly the most important question of any revolution. The question of which class holds power is decisive . . . The question of power can neither be evaded, nor put off. It is the basic question, and in the development of revolution, in its external and internal policy, *everything* depends on it." (Lenin, *A Basic Question of Revolution.*)

It is impossible to carry through, and especially to consolidate democratic, let alone socialist, reconstruction without holding power. But power is not an aim in itself. It is a means to an end. It is the vehicle of radical socio-economic change. That is why "the transfer of State power from one class to another class is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a *revolution*, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of the term." (Lenin, *Letters on Tactics.*)

The past ten years have witnessed a far-reaching renovation of the entire communist movement and of Marxist theory as a whole. This renovation has also had a bearing on one of the basic tenets of Marxism—the relationship of socialist revolution to the bourgeois State. Responding to the vital issues of our time, collective Marxist thinking in all countries is opening up new facets of this problem and, in this respect too, is prompting new conclusions.

To be sure, some of the basic features of socialist revolution and the bourgeois State, and some of their basic interlinkings, are essentially immutable. One must know these features, but merely to know them is far from being enough to resolve the tasks of the class struggle with any degree of success. The relationship of socialist revolution to the bourgeois State is always specific with respect to time, with respect to a group of countries more or less similar in make-up and with respect to any single country. It is impossible, therefore, to say, even in general outline, what the features of an impending revolution are likely to be unless we examine the structure of the State in the given country.

Let us, then, take the State in the relatively developed capitalist countries and, for present purposes, in my country.

I. BASIC TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOURGEOIS STATEHOOD

The Functions of Direct Coercion

State-monopoly capitalism signifies a pooling and intertwining, combining and integrating of the forces of the monopolies and the State, signifies subordination of the State to a handful of monopolists. Hence the trend towards authoritarianism, and the swelling of the parasitic military and bureaucratic machinery of coercion.

In Finland there are modifications of this general process. Finland, obviously, cannot have a "military-industrial complex" like that, say, in the United States. This is not because of any innate pacifism of the Finnish monopolists; nor is it due to any lack of reactionaries in our country. For this we are indebted to three factors—the struggle of the people for peace and democracy, the level-headed approach of some of the bourgeois groups (the Passikivi-Kekkonen line), and the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

When thanks to the October Revolution, Finland gained her independence, the bourgeoisie hastened to conclude an alliance with the German imperialists and lost no time in turning the State into a weapon for suppressing the working class, which had grown too strong for its liking. A civil war broke out. Something like 90,000 people were herded into concentration camps and tens of thousands were shot or starved to death.

In Finland between 1925 and 1938 the cost of maintaining the armed forces, police courts and prisons, averaged 40 per cent of the budget expenditure. In 1939 the army alone accounted for over 50 per cent and, subsequently, during the war years, for 75 per cent of the budget. Besides the army there was the monopoly-sponsored *Schutzkorps*, of 100,000 men, that is, an auxiliary armed force of the ruling class. Foreign policy and commerce, the army, police and the courts were also controlled by the monopolies, which supported the anti-Soviet policy of the imperialist West.

The big change began after the reactionaries suffered defeat in the last war and the country concluded a peace treaty with the Soviet Union. In 1946, military expenditure dropped to 7.5 per cent of the budget, and to 5.5. per cent in 1947-48. At present, "security and public order" consumes some 15 per cent of the budget expenditure, of which 7 or 8 per cent is spent on the army. Thanks to peace and to the working people's struggle for their vital interests and democracy, 30 per cent of the budget is now spent on social needs.

However, we would be unforgivably short-sighted if we limited ourselves to listing the advantages present-day Finland has over the Finland of yesterday and over the militarised bourgeois states of today. Finnish reactionaries have their plans and, what is more, they are bent on carrying them out. The *Schutzkorps* was disbanded under the terms of the treaty with the Soviet Union, but it has been illicitly replaced by unions of reserve officers and n.c.o.s. In 1939, the army and police had an aggregate strength of 16,540. In 1959 their strength mounted to 20,340. To this figure should be added the men called up for military service.

The machinery of direct coercion, as we see, is still there, and in some respects it is stronger than before the war. No essential changes have occurred in the army, police and the courts. The extreme Right still holds these sectors of the machinery of State firmly in hand.

Economic Intervention and Some Other Activities

The facts have conclusively upset the dogma current at the time of the Stalin cult that the capitalist State does not exert any influence on the economy. The new role of the bourgeois State in relation to the economy stems chiefly from the objective demands of modern production whose social complexion clamours for recognition. But state-monopoly capitalism will never do the job of genuine socialisation, although in a way it is objectively paving the way for it.

Direct intervention by the State in capitalist reproduction takes place in a variety of ways—through nationalisation, State consumption, government economic controls, etc.

In Finland, State ownership of the railways, posts and telegraph, one-third of the forests, and of some factories, dates back to the twenties. After the last war, the economic interests of the State were extended. To cite one example, when the world economic crisis of 1929-33 hit Finland, the government appointed a commission to probe its causes and work out measures to combat it. But the National Economic Society, a big business organisation, saw the underlying dangers and protested. The commission, too, hastened to declare, among other things, that "clearly the opportunities at the disposal of the State to direct the economy, and at the same time to guide cultural development, are greatly restricted". But what about the present? Today, the manufacturers have devised a variety of ways consistent with capitalism for the State to intervene in economic affairs and are exploiting them to the utmost. Present-day Government commissions no longer doubt that the State can administer the economy. In 1938, State-controlled industry accounted for 9.8 per cent of the country's aggregate industrial output. By 1953, the figure had climbed to 15.2 per cent, and by the early sixties it was 20 per cent. Furthermore, it is rising steadily. The role of the State is exceptionally great in many services, and in the sphere of credit (accounting for at least 40 per cent of it).

The very great expansion of State-operated business and the attendant enormous rise in State expenditure has created a *tax* problem. To begin with, progressively more of the State expenditure is paid out of tax revenue. Secondly, indirect taxes predominate. Thirdly, the share of taxes paid by the big enterprises is shrinking (not only relatively, but absolutely); while, fourthly, an increasingly bigger portion of the taxes is paid by the average taxpayer, the working man.

The State is invading the field of *labour relations*. Governments in many countries are setting up labour relations councils, and anti-labour laws are being framed. Postwar labour legislation in Finland is meant to encourage the so-called "spirit of labour accord", which is aimed against strikes.

The increasing numbers and changing structure of *government employees* warrants a closer examination. In 1914, the government employed 27,000 people. By the end of the twenties their number was 50,000, and by 1939 it was 56,000. In 1959, government employees totalled 86,500, and today they total about 95,000. Most of these are employed on the railways (26 per cent in 1959), posts and telegraph (18 per cent), and the defence department (14 per cent).

From a privileged caste, government employees have largely turned into a stratum exploited by monopoly capital, often as intensively as other working people. A hierarchic pyramid has evolved, with a rather broad base and tapering quickly to a point.

Most government employees receive about the same wages as skilled workers (the wages of 80 per cent of Finland's government employees approach the average wage in the metal-working industry). The jobs of many of these people are not secure (in 1939, 29 per cent of the officials did not have guaranteed jobs, and as many as 39 per cent in 1959). Before the war, most of the officials came from bourgeois families. Today many of them have a working-class background. More than 20,000 of the smaller officials are members of the Central Alliance of Trade Unions. Trade union members among government employees total 70,100. They fight for their rights and do not hesitate to go on strike.

Officials employed in the "security and public order" machinery, as we have said before, are under the direct influence of the extreme Right, which is also fairly influential in education. However, large numbers of civil servants (particularly of lower rank) are Social Democrats. Officials belonging to the People's Democratic movement, let alone Communists, are rare (excluding the groups that have joined the Central Alliance of Trade Unions).

The high-salaried bureaucracy (comprising about 1.5 per cent of the civil servants), closely connected with monopoly capital, is the core of the machinery of State and handles all important matters.

Strained relations between central and local bodies of power have arisen in many bourgeois countries. In Finland, the State is eager to delegate more functions to the municipalities, to shift much of the financial burden onto the latter and thus compel them to spend their revenue on purposes fixed by the State. The central bodies of power are anxious to extend their control over the municipalities, hemming in and restricting locally elected officeholders and appointing their own officials to the municipalities. As a result, municipal staffs have expanded out of all proportion. There are three officials today to one official in 1938 (in 1960 there were more than 35,000 appointed officials in the towns and townships, and only about 12,000 elected office-holders).

The bureaucratic and hierarchic complexion of the machinery of State in Finland is accentuated by the centralised system of government. Lately, it is true, the demand for decentralisation and greater local authority has been vigorously articulated.

The tendency to restrict the role of representative institutions, common to the imperialist period, has assumed peculiar forms in Finland, particularly as regards *relations between the parliament and the government*. According to the Constitution, supreme power is vested in parliament, which is elected by popular vote (suffrage is limited to people of twenty-one and over, but a campaign is in progress to lower the suffrage age to eighteen years). After the war, an influential people's democratic group has emerged in parliament, and is doing good work. No longer is parliament the obedient tool of the monopolies that it was before and during the war. For this reason the relations between the government and parliament have grown strained. Monopoly capital is eager to concentrate maximum political power in the government. To do so, it is campaigning to revise the Constitution. None of its efforts have yet borne fruit, but the measures taken so far are dangerous all the same. Many of the decisions passed by parliament, let alone its recommendations, are ignored. Furthermore, its part in forming the government has been curtailed. The struggle between governmental power and parliamentary power, in which the Communist Party is the most consistent and vigorous defender of the latter, proceeds with alternating success.

The Classical Definition of the State and Current Reality

It will be recalled that the Marxist classics define the State as an "organ of the rule of a definite class", or as special bodies of "armed men which have prisons, etc., at their disposal" (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*). The first definition is more general, the second more specific, implying the machinery which ensures class rule. The second held true for the definition State with which the working people had to cope some seventy to 100 years ago. At that time, the State was, broadly speaking, an organisation of "armed bodies".

Today, the State in all capitalist countries is still a special machine for class coercion, violence, suppression and government run by a specific category of people. As before, it is the chief instrument in the class struggle waged by the bourgeoisie, the chief means of defending the system of exploitation. As before, it is the chief guarantor of surplus value and a kind of "auxiliary" exploiter of the working people, who are forced to pay for its upkeep.

But the machinery and the methods by which the bourgeoisie effectuates its class rule have changed considerably. Today, the State is no longer composed solely of bodies of direct

class coercion (although these are still powerful). Elements that were negligible or non-existent in the past now play a more substantial role. This applies first and foremost to the new relationship of the State in the sphere of the economy.

Marxism foresaw this trend. In describing the nineteenth-century bourgeois State, Engels in his *Anti-Duhring* described it as an organisation of the exploiting class to maintain and protect its *general, external* conditions of production.

"The modern State," Engels wrote, "no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the State of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of the productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit . . . The official representative of capitalist society—the State—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production."

The monopoly State, octopus like, extends its tentacles to the most remote areas and endeavours to control everything. But in doing so it is running into difficulties, for it cannot gobble up everything, cannot digest what it has already grasped. To be sure, the bourgeois State has not shed its class nature. But it is no longer the old monolith. Anti-monopoly forces are rising, and not only outside the State, but within it.

The unprecedented extension of the functions of the bourgeois State should not be allowed to obscure its tendency to restrict the number of policy makers. More and more, it is becoming a committee of administration, acting not so much for the bourgeois class as a whole, but primarily for specific groups, the monopolists.

State-monopoly capitalism creates the material and technical premises for socialism. What is more, much against its will, it tends to foster large social and political forces inimical to it. It tends to make all the areas it penetrates politically conscious. In a way, it digs its own social grave in all the sectors it invades, and engenders growing resistance. These sectors become battlefields in the class struggle. To put it briefly, the extension of the functions of the bourgeois State does not imply that the class struggle subsides and finally disappears. Far from it. The class struggle is expanding, assuming a variety of new forms.

II. THE INEVITABLE ABOLITION OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE AND THE NEED TO USE IT

"Nip in the Bud Counter-Revolution and Make Use of the Cultural Sides of the Capitalist Machinery of State" (Lenin)

It is no more possible to abolish capitalist rule without smashing the capitalist State than it is for capitalist rule to exist without the State. The bourgeois state must be smashed. What does this imply? The word "smash" is used as a bogey, it is often distorted, misunderstood, or confused with some of its particular forms (just as the substance of the socialist revolution and its particular form of armed uprising and civil war are often confused). What is meant fundamentally is that the bourgeois machinery of State as a whole cannot be seized by the proletariat and the other working people as a prize, that it cannot simply be taken over and put into operation at once, without appropriate alteration. It is never taken over ready for use, because it is modelled to uphold the interests of the bourgeoisie, particularly the monopoly bourgeoisie. Smashing it implies a revolutionary dissolution and reorganisation of the institutions that enforced the will of capital, particularly monopoly capital, and this naturally involves the removal from office of the specific category of people objectively interested in maintaining capitalist rule, those who help to enforce it and to maintain it. Today, smashing largely imples the removal from power of the agents of the monopolies. This can be done only in a revolutionary way, with the help of social force, that is, by means of the broadest possible organisation of the proletariat and the other working people, and of all the anti-monopoly groups.

While conscious of the class origin and class nature of the bourgeois State, a product and vehicle of the *irreconcilable* class contradictions, the Communists concede the possibility of using some of its links, levers, and units by placing them under the control of the masses.

". . . The state institutions, in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is organised," Engels wrote, "offer the working class still further opportunities to fight these very state institutions." Unlike the anarchists, Lenin wrote, Marxists "demand that the proletariat be prepared for revolution by utilising the present State." (*The State and Revolution.*)

The forms and the time in which the capitalist State is used and demolished, and the *scale, nature and methods* of doing this may vary. Different sections of the bourgeois State are used and abolished in different ways. Those sections of it which embody the function of social coercion more than others, are demolished more thoroughly. Those which can serve society

as a whole (used under capitalism chiefly in the interests of the bourgeoisie) are relatively less affected, and used to a greater extent. It is comparatively easy to make the necessary changes in their staffs. The less democratic a bourgeois State is, the more it will be subject to demolition. The more democratic it is, the more of its links can be used. This applies equally to the various parts of the machinery of State. It should be borne in mind, however, that the extent, greater or lesser, of democracy in the State, and in its various parts, depends chiefly on the relation of social forces.

Let us emphasise that the *forms* of the smashing and of the using tend to change, as does the *ratio* of the one to the other. General definitions alone will not provide a key to the concrete forms and the concrete ratio in a country at any particular time. Needed here is a *concrete analysis* of the *concrete situation.* What to destroy, what to nip in the bud, and how to do this; what to use, and how to use it—these will depend mostly on the changing structure of the specific State confronting the working people, on historical and national traditions, and on the experience and political awareness of the masses. Still, this most important theoretical and political problem will never find its correct solution unless the international experience of the entire Communist, working-class and democratic movement is taken into account.

The State and the Peaceful or Non-Peaceful Revolution

It will be recalled that for Lenin the point about the need to smash the bourgeois machinery of State was basic. In the 1870's Marx believed that the breaking up of the old State was a preliminary condition for any genuinely popular revolution on the continent. But "Marx excluded England, where a revolution, even a people's revolution, could be conceived of, and was then possible *without* the condition of first destroying the 'ready-made machinery of State'." (Lenin, *The State and Revolution.*) This exception (which Marx and Engels also extended to the Netherlands, the United States and, at one time, to Germany) was then known as the peaceful way of revolution. As we see, for Marx and Engels the ways of revolution were closely linked with the question of the ways of smashing and using the capitalist State.

Subsequently, new experience called for a further differentiation of these concepts. Lenin insisted on breaking up the State machinery of the Russian bourgeoisie at a time when he believed (from April to July, and then for a few days in the autumn of 1917) that the peaceful development of revolution was possible. Hence, in Lenin's view, the smashing was necessary in the event of a peaceful as well as of a non-peaceful revolution.

In our time the concept of power, the concept of the State, has become much wider. Today, it is impossible to conceive the socialist revolution (particularly in the developed capitalist countries) as a sweeping and instantaneous seizure of power. It calls for a growing offensive of the masses, for a thorough preparation (in struggle and through struggle) of the political forces of the revolution. Engels' criticism of some of the German Social Democratic leaders of 1883 rings truer today than ever. "The big blunder of the Germans," Engels said, "is that they imagine that revolution can be made in one day. It is really a year-long process, in which the masses develop under conditions tending to accelerate their development." (Engels' letter to Bernstein of August 27, 1883.)

The question of peace, too, is closely linked with the problems of revolution and of the State.

What, in class terms, do the principles of peaceful coexistence and general and complete disarmament, which have become possible even before socialism has won on a world scale, signify? Implied here are the best possible external conditions for extending and accelerating the world-wide revolutionary process. More specifically, they imply restriction and, later, elimination of the imperialist military establishments—armaments, armies and general staffs—the forces that today comprise the major section of the State machine in many countries (this applies solely to the external functions of the machine). It seemed inconceivable until now that the military establishment of the capitalists could be scrapped, before the capitalist system as a whole was abolished, for this establishment continues to be the main force of capitalist rule, accentuating the importance and complexity of the struggle for disarmament.

General and complete disarmament implies destruction, without resort to war, by peaceful means, of the military branch of the monopoly machinery of State. That is the underlying meaning of the proposition that peaceful coexistence is possible in our time.

The possibility of a peaceful scrapping of the military establishment of the bourgeois machinery of state does not signify that the bourgeoisie will voluntarily relinquish the main

instrument of their rule. Nor does it signify that the possibility of war is ruled out. No. This will be a *forced* move, a move made *under pressure*. To translate it into reality calls for utmost activity on the part of all peace-loving forces, for long and persevering struggle.

Consider, too, that a fairly large number of reactionary military coups have taken place over the last three or four years in various Latin American, Asian and African countries, and that military conspiracies are brewing in some of the developed capitalist countries. All this, as the Communist parties of the respective countries note, redoubles their responsibility and that of all the other democratic forces, necessitating, depending on the circumstances, armed resistance by the masses.

Offensive Actions and Control by the Masses, Broad Political Alliances

In view of the far-reaching changes on the international scene and the growth of the national-democratic forces, highly favourable opportunities have set in in many capitalist countries, in Finland at any rate, for a sustained offensive by the working people against the monopolies, for democratisation of the machinery of State. Everything depends on the subjective factor—on the masses, on work among the masses, on how well the Communists and all the democratic organisations chart their policy.

In Finland the Constitution has not been revised for nearly half a century. But the structure of the State has changed considerably. Notwithstanding a formally constant political pattern, our country has experienced bourgeois dictatorship in its most savage form, and also in disguised forms. The same laws existed during the pro-fascist regime as exist at the present time. The framework of bourgeois democracy has, as we have seen, a way of shrinking and expanding. The reasons for this are rooted in the changing relationship of social forces. The people owe the successes of democratic development chiefly to the activity of their vanguard and to working-class unity. As to the defeats, they have always been due to poor mass activity and insufficient unity.

The Communists must go to the masses, must organise the masses, above all the working class, in order to withstand the Right offensive, to combat the prejudices, to achieve a further reduction of military expenditure and greater allocations for social services, to secure reduction of the taxes paid by the working people and higher taxes for the monopolies, to provide support from "below" for the efforts of people's deputies in the parliament, to rally the people and establish effective controls by the parliament and by the organisations of working people over the economic machinery of the State and over the monopolies, over education, social insurance, public health, housing, radio and television and, briefly, to look for and find different forms of people's control over the various sections of the bourgeois State—from municipalities to the central government. There can be no trace of reformism wherever efforts from "above" are supported from "below" by vigorous mass actions; in this way a genuinely revolutionary policy is carried out. If the election campaigns, and the activities of People's Democrats in the various sections of the State *lack* mass support, they will prove sterile.

Our new strategic line facilitates broad political alliances between the Communist Party and the other democratic forces, above all the masses who still follow the Social Democrats. An alliance between the Communists and the Social Democrats is essential for the peaceful development of the socialist revolution, for establishing public control over some sections of the State and, later, their radical reconstruction in the interests of the working people. When we are asked (by Social Democrats, bourgeois Liberals, and others) what guarantees are there that democracy will prevail after the socialist revolution, that violence will not be employed against the people, we reply: "the way to obtain such guarantees is to achieve maximum democracy now, under capitalism. There is also the guarantee of our daily struggle on behalf of the working people, our readiness to enter into alliances with all the democratic forces, and our fight against all Left sectarian concepts. But to those who ask us about guarantees we add: *the guarantees also depend on you.*

The Communist parties in an increasing number of countries are showing a new approach to the important question of multi-party government in the period of revolution and socialist construction. The broader and more enduring the anti-monopoly, democratic alliance of the people, expressed, among other things, by political alliances of the democratic parties, the greater will be the possibility and necessity of maintaining a multi-party system during the transition to socialism proper. This highly important idea is frequently discussed in the press of Italian, French, British and other Communist parties. It is recorded also in the programme of our Party adopted in 1957. The programme says that the Party "wishes fruitful co-operation with all the parties enjoying the support of the working people, both

in the capitalist environment and also during the transition to socialism and socialist construction".

Communism is winning people to its side not only by its ideals, but also by the ways, means and methods of achieving them. In our time, these may well be painless for the people.

III. LEFT-SECTARIAN AND RIGHT OPPORTUNIST CONCEPTS

New approaches and new solutions of the problem of revolution and the State have their source in a free and mutually stimulating exchange of views among like-minded people and in uncompromising ideological and political struggle with all kinds of deviators and opponents of Marxism.

Revolutionary Phrasemongering Instead of Concrete Revolutionary Policy

What surprises one most about the present views of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party on questions of revolution and the State (and on many other questions) is their astonishing contempt for the facts and for scientific social analysis. They give the impression that they know everything beforehand, and need only recall the pertinent passages from the real and imaginary Marxist classics, and rather more from the latter.

The Chinese press harps on the words spoken by Mao Tse-tung more than a quarter of a century ago. "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun . . . Everything in Yenan has been built up by means of the gun. Anything can grow out of the barrel of a gun . . . The whole world can be remoulded only with the gun." (Mao Tse-tung, *Problems of War and Strategy*.) This explains why the collection of articles in the booklet *Long Live Leninism*? (1960), and the *Jenminjihpao* article of March 31, 1964, define revolution as revolutionary war. It is beyond question that in the 1930's and 1940's the Chinese Party found the right solutions. It rallied the people for armed revolution and it won. There is no doubt either that this experience of the Chinese revolution has had, and still has, a great international impact, and the world Communist movement should make the most of it, since, today, too, armed forms of struggle are in certain circumstances necessary and inevitable in some countries. So much is true. But it is also beyond question that the definitions of the "thirties" and "forties" are too rigid for our time, and too universal. (To be sure, they were widespread in the Communist press at the time.) But can this justify a non-critical attitude to past experience and, what is worse, an unqualified and unconditional use of past formulas, for all their merits and defects, at the present time? That is the point at issue.

This dogmatic fixation on armed revolution, irrespective of conditions and of place and time, also shapes the attitude towards the bourgeois State. Why bother to learn the latest trends of its development, some say, if this State has to be smashed one day? The materials published by the Chinese leadership do not say what they think about the extended functions of the modern bourgeois State. They do not speculate on the new tasks the working people and the Communists will have to face in this connection, and how the forms of the inevitable dictatorship of the proletariat may differ. One looks in vain for an answer to the questions of what to scrap, how to scrap it and when, and what has to be used, and how and when it is to be used.

It is indicative that the Chinese leaders ascribe to many Communist parties views that the latter have never held. When the Communists say that the opportunities of using some of the levers and units of the capitalist State in the interests of the people are greater at present in some countries thanks to the struggle waged by the masses, they are accused of saying that the bourgeoisie and the monopolies will *voluntarily* give up their positions. When the Communists speak of taking advantage of the democratic constitution where such exists (Italy, say), they are accused of wanting to embark on socialism within the framework of bourgeois democracy, and that they are apologists "for capitalism". The materials issued by the Chinese leadership against the Communist parties of Italy, France and a number of other countries are filled with charges of this kind.

The Marxist truth about the class nature of the bourgeois State is reduced to the absurd. It is claimed, for example, that if the U.S. machinery of State is an instrument for the rule of monopoly capital, the U.S. government (like the governments of other capitalist countries) will always and in all things pursue an extreme reactionary policy, which Marxists should at all times and in all places, reject out of hand (this view is set out in an article against the Communist Party of the U.S.A. in *Jenminjihpao*). Such recommendations are not suitable, not even for the United States, and less so for Finland. Let us, so to speak, translate them

into Finnish, and we shall have to abandon the chief gain of the people—the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Finnish government under pressure of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

We cannot help recalling the policy of the Russian Communists and Lenin's policy, on this score. When the October Revolution occurred they were the first to oppose any departure from the idea that some of the features of the revolution could and would, with due modification, repeat themselves in other countries. Lenin was against the Comintern adopting resolutions that were "too Russian". He was always happy to hear that the comrades from the other countries intended to make their revolution better than the one in Russia. It was their *duty*, he said, to do so.

But what about the Chinese leaders? Why do they insist that the world Communist movement should adopt their specific point of view on all the basic questions of our time? Why do they not rejoice when other people express their desire to resolve the questions of national and social liberation in a better and less painful way?

Liberal Talk Instead of Exposing the Antagonisms of Bourgeois Society

Unlike the Left-sectarian concept, the Right opportunist concentrates solely on the latest trends in bourgeois statehood. But these trends are so one-sidedly appraised that the *bourgeois* character of the State is entirely obscured. So is the need for the socialist *revolution*. The revisionists, too, view things in the same light.

The programme of the Finnish Social Democratic Party extols the "welfare state" that we are told has emerged in Finland. The latter-day Right opportunists admit the class character of the bourgeois State, but only in relation to the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. By the way, their forerunners denied the class nature of that State about which Marx and Lenin wrote in their day. All their critical zeal is focused on the past, and all their apologetics focused on the present. They talk about a "diffusion" of power, about its "atomisation", that the Cabinet of ministers is now little more than a board of mediation, that democracy has "purged" itself of class prejudice, and that class struggle has culminated in class peace.

That is as may be. But one thing is unclear. If the State acts as mediator between the different groupings in society, if it represents the "common will", why is it that in Finland, where the People's Democrats poll about a quarter of the votes in parliamentary elections, they are denied due representation in the government and in the machinery of State? And another point. Parliament appoints radio and television administrators in keeping with the balance of forces in the Parliament. But the People's Democrats among these administrators cannot express the will of their electors. The radio and television programmes ignore the requirements of the People's Democrats and their voters, because the pertinent machinery is controlled by men associated with the monopolies. Police attack strikers. They open fire on lawful demonstrations, as was the case in the town of Kemi, but they do not touch a hair of those who force workers to strike and hold demonstrations, that is, the big manufacturers. This "mediator" State countenances an acute polarisation of income, with two per cent of the population owning 90 per cent of the national wealth, while the overwhelming majority of the population, the working people, are not sure of their future and live with the constant feeling of insecurity.

We could list interminable questions. None but those who shrink from them, who are unaffected by them, will say they are naive. But these "naive" questions show the masses day in and day out that the State as we know it today is *not their* State, that it confronts them as an alien and at times *openly* hostile social force. However, they see, too, that already today they are able to compel changes in the structure of the bourgeois State, a "democratisation" of its machinery, that they can use some of its links, and place these links under their control, provided they take the offensive in the struggle.

True, thanks to the State, a relative "order" prevails in bourgeois society and the *open* conflict of the classes is "dampened" to some extent. But in what way? The working people are deprived of certain decisive means of struggle against their exploiters. So, if the bourgeois State is to be described as a body for the "reconciliation" of classes, that is true in one sense only; in the sense that the bourgeoisie imposes on the working people the terms of "peace" which best suit it.

Left doctrinaires see the bourgeois State solely as a vehicle of direct violence and totally neglect its role as "manager of production" (as well as some other of its functions). Right doctrinaires, on the other hand, minimise, and at times totally ignore, the role of the machinery of direct violence, and claim that State leadership of production is the best sign

of its "surpra-class" nature. But the point is that the bourgeois State by intervening in the economy, by guiding it, *continues* the class violence of the capitalists against the workers, continues it in a new and vital sphere of social life, that is, it extends it enormously and enlarges the numbers of exploited. Instead of exposing the new forms of class oppression exercised by the monopolists, the Right Social Democrats deceive themselves and others with fairy-tales about the bourgeois State having shed its functions of violence.

The Rights have written prolifically about the modern State, and have at times compiled important and useful material. This is true of some bourgeois authors as well. But if one were to expect to find in their writings the main thing—emphasis on the masses, recognition of the need to rally the masses, to bring them into action, the expectation would be disappointed. They pin their hopes on the spontaneous and "organic" process of development. What they expect, and what they preach, is the good will of the powers that be. What they dread is social and political action by the masses (*i.e., real democracy*!).

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Each one of the questions mentioned here calls for special, more thorough examination. Furthermore, many other problems arise, directly related to these questions. In many countries the impending socialist revolution will have to deal not only with the bourgeois State as represented in the country concerned, but also with the new supra-national apparatus that is so much like a state.

Not all these questions can as yet be fully answered exhaustively. The important thing is that they are posed by the Communists more and more boldly, being brought to light by the class struggle in the new and continuously changing environment.

The vital process of the renovation of the Communist movement and Marxist theory continues.

The Experience of Guatemala—Some Problems of the Revolutionary Struggle Today

ALFREDO GUERRA BORGES

I

ON March 30, 1963, the Guatemalan army carried out a *coup d'état* and seized power. That same year the people began an armed struggle. It is these two events that explain the present political situation in the country and are a phenomenon new in its history.

The history of our country, like that of many other Latin American countries, abounds in *coups* in which the military camarilla in alliance with one or another section of the ruling classes seized power. This time, however, the military *coup* did not follow the traditional pattern. It was staged by *all* the army leaders and supported by the *entire bloc of the ruling classes*. This unanimity is explained largely by the fact that the *coup* enabled the Right-wing groups to entrench themselves in preparation for the presidential election scheduled for the end of 1963. But a deeper reason is that the *coup* was a desperate attempt on the part of the ruling classes to find a way out of the political crisis.

On the other hand, the people's armed struggle which originated with the guerrilla actions of 1963 was the outcome of the situation brought about by the reactionaries. "When the reactionary classes resorted to extreme measures and summoned the army to power, the revolutionary forces likewise resorted to an extreme measure: they took to arms . . .", states the resolution of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labour (G.P.L.) of December 1963, which was circulated in tens of thousands of copies.

As early as May 1961 the Central Committee of the Party had warned that the ruling classes were blocking the way to a peaceful effort for a national and democratic government, and the Party was told to be ready for armed action should this become inevitable. At the same time, the Central Committee stressed the need to use all forms of struggle, all avenues for legal action, the need to rally the masses and form a united front of the democratic forces.

The course of events in 1962-63 confirmed the correctness of these conclusions.

Developments in our country are greatly influenced by the Cuban revolution. In addition to the overall impact of Cuba, an impact felt in all the countries of Latin America, another factor should be taken into account in the concrete socio-political (and partly geographic) conditions of our country: the example of Cuba is directly influencing the revolutionary people in their choice of the *means* of struggle against the reactionary regime. This is particularly true as regards a large section of the peasantry and the more radical urban middle sections.

The turn to armed struggle was foreseen as something inevitable not only by our Party, but also by other democratic and political trends and groups who likewise made preparations for it. Gradually, the revolutionary trends steering towards armed struggle co-ordinated their actions and in 1963 formed the Insurrectionary Armed Forces (I.A.S.). In its statement of November 30, 1963, the I.A.S. outlined its principles and aims concisely and clearly.

II

In what way and to what extent does the guerrilla movement affect the political situation in Guatemala? Do we have the objective and subjective conditions needed for armed struggle? These and similar questions are asked by our people and by people elsewhere sincerely concerned about the outcome of the revolutionary struggle in Guatemala.

Let us take the first question. To begin with, it should be borne in mind that the guerrilla centres are still in their formative, organisational phase. An examination of the areas shows that in the rural districts where the people are more active politically and where traditions of revolutionary struggle are strong, the guerrilla movement enjoys the support of the population. In districts with a different social composition, or where political awareness is not so keen, the guerrillas still need time to win the support of the masses and to draw them into the struggle.

The politically active workers, students, and also a sizeable part of the urban middle sections enthusiastically support the guerrilla movement, seeing in it a way of countering the government's repressions or, in the case of the more class-conscious people, the way to fight for a democratic system.

The moderate political groups and some middle-class sections, on the other hand, as yet are not convinced that armed struggle is the answer, and for this reason are taking a wait and see attitude. But they are by no means *opposed* to armed struggle inasmuch as the military dictatorship has deprived them of their political liberties.

In its resolution of December 20, 1963, the Central Committee of the Party noted that "although the guerrilla detachments are still at an early stage of development, they have already become a political factor in the life of the country, a phenomenon with which any government of today or tomorrow will have to reckon when defining its policy. The armed struggle is an obvious expression of the civil war towards which the reactionary classes are steering the country and no government can remain neutral on this score . . ." As for the Peralta Asurida government, it has made its choice by continuing the policy which is heading the country towards civil war.

This brings us to the question: Does not the armed struggle narrow the possibilities for legal struggle, for peaceful action by the democratic forces? We don't think so, especially when we recall the extent to which legality has been restricted in recent years by the ruling classes. From the very first day the military dictatorship destroyed the last vestiges of democracy in the country. The repressions that followed the outbreak of the revolutionary armed struggle changed little in this respect.

At the same time we know that no government can *completely* destroy all the possibilities for legal action in defence of the people's interests. This needs to be stressed because when armed struggle begins there is always a tendency to underestimate any work that is not directly connected with this struggle.

". . . The Party considers it necessary to organise all actions that will bring the masses into motion," states the December resolution of the Central Committee. "Concentration on the armed struggle to the exclusion of other actions that need to be organised for the political, economic, social and cultural demands of the people can only end in the armed struggle finding itself isolated and supported only by the most advanced sections of the population . . ."

III

The question of whether *the conditions have matured in Guatemala for an armed struggle* is a complex one; it is one of the most debatable issues of Guatemala's revolutionary develop-

ment. When examining this question we usually base ourselves on Lenin's well-known definition of the symptoms of a revolutionary situation. Revolutionaries have always been guided by this definition. At the same time we think that in interpreting this definition there are pitfalls and over-simplifications which should be avoided. Our analysis, let it be said, is based on, and confined to, the concrete conditions in Guatemala.

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Lenin, it will be recalled, enumerated three groups of conditions without which "*revolution*, as a general rule, is impossible" (our emphasis). But his words are often interpreted as meaning that a *definite form of revolutionary struggle*, for example armed struggle, cannot be begun unless *all three conditions are to hand.* According to this interpretation, *revolution*, or in other words, the removal of the reactionary classes from power and the conquest of power by the revolutionary classes, cannot take place in the absence of a revolutionary situation, i.e., unless the ruling classes have reached the point where they can no longer rule in the old way, unless the popular discontent with the existing order of things is at breaking point and unless there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses subsequently developing into independent action. But in the fermenting of the revolution, the peak of the revolutionary process (here and elsewhere we deliberately ignore the *character* of revolutions) is preceded by a number of other phases and aspects. It would be a mistake to assume that the two phases, *the beginning of the revolutionary armed struggle and the direct seizure of power by the revolutionary classes*, always coincide, as was the case in Russia in October 1917. The growth of the world revolutionary process shows that the two phases can be far apart in time.

The moment for beginning an armed struggle may be decided upon by revolutionaries if the situation warrants such a step (as was the case in Cuba and Algeria); in other instances, the moment for passing over to a definite form of action, say, armed struggle, may depend not so much on the revolutionary forces as on the reactionary classes (in power or seeking to regain power); and lastly, as was the case in Guatemala, a critical situation caused by the action of the reactionary classes may coincide with the initial phase of the plans of the revolutionaries who anticipated the onset of this situation.

If the conditions for power passing into the hands of the revolutionary classes are not yet ripe, then the struggle of the latter—no matter how valiant—will be doomed to failure. The heroic struggle of the Paris proletariat during the June insurrection of 1848 is a classical case in point. The bourgeoisie, being in a position to retain power, deliberately provoked the proletariat and the insurrection ended in defeat.

But there might be another situation when the objective conditions for revolution exist, but have not matured, when the reactionary classes impose an armed struggle on the democratic forces. That is exactly what happened in Guatemala, and our Party decided that in the circumstances it was advisable to accept the challenge of the reactionaries and that they could be defeated *provided the trend of development led to the maturing of the conditions for revolution* and, especially, considering the impact made by the guerrilla centres and the mass actions stimulated by them. Needless to say, only a thorough, scientific analysis of the problems coupled with what might be called the intuition of the revolutionary make it possible to discern such a trend.

In our view the formula that the insurrectionary centre is sufficient to create the conditions for revolution is incomplete and, therefore, incorrect. Lenin, when speaking of a revolutionary situation, stated that the sum of the changes making for this situation was of an objective nature, independent "of the will not only of the separate groups and parties, but also of the separate classes". If we were to assume that the insurrectionary centre can by itself create *the conditions for revolution*, groups or parties would immediately make their appearance and would start forming such centres irrespective of the concrete situation and in the hope that the conditions for revolution would subsequently mature. We believe that a certain degree of maturity of the objective factor of revolution is absolutely essential if the armed struggle is to be successful.

Had these "absolutely essential" objective conditions (which matured rapidly thanks to the existence of an insurrectionary centre) been absent in Cuba, the revolutionary struggle would not have ended in victory two years after the "Granma" landing. In Spain the reverse happened in the forties. At first the guerrillas had the support of the population, but gradually they found themselves isolated because the objective conditions developed in an unfavourable direction. Any number of examples could be cited in both respects.

To sum up, our viewpoint on this question is:

(a) a people's armed struggle in countries where the ruling classes have rendered this objectively inevitable can be launched even before all the conditions for revolution have matured;

(b) the struggle begun in these circumstances can be successful only if the conditions begin to mature as a result of the objective development of events and the conscious activity of the revolutionary forces;

(c) if these conditions do not exist or if they are not maturing in full measure, the insurrectionary centres will not be able, despite the laws of social development, to perform a "miracle" and create the conditions for a successful revolution. In that case there will be no victory:

(d) revolution, the seizure of power by the revolutionary class can take place only as a result of independent action by the masses and when it is no longer possible for the ruling classes to rule in the old way, in other words, as a result of the situation described by Lenin in general outline.

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When speaking of the objective conditions necessary for revolution we should not interpret in a dogmatic way the thesis that an extreme worsening of the conditions of the oppressed classes can be taken as a symptom of a revolutionary situation. Interesting in this respect were the views expressed in the articles by S. Alvarez and H. Barrios Klee (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*, No. 12, 1963 and No. 3, 1964). For one thing, conditions in Guatemala, especially in the countryside, can hardly be worse than they are today. We think that when Lenin spoke of the "extreme worsening" of the conditions of the people he had in mind not the kind of situation we have in Guatemala; he was referring to societies whose high standard of living could for a whole variety of reasons be eroded overnight.

On the other hand poverty, even extreme poverty, does not always impel the masses to action. More than hunger is needed for this: revolutionary determination and social consciousness. Indian peasants in some areas of Guatemala (particularly on the plateaux) have the worst standard of living in the country; but their cultural backwardness, the downtrodden state in which they have been living since the times of Spanish colonial rule, their relative isolation from the economic and political life of the country, not to mention other socio-economic and political factors, have resulted in a situation in which these people are, by and large, not politically active. Although the democratic revolution of 1944-54 began to draw the Indian population (primarily the youth) into socio-political life, they never constituted the main base of the revolution. Nor, for that matter will they be the main support of the democratic, national-liberation revolution now maturing in the country. (It will be possible to draw them into the struggle gradually as the revolutionary forces succeed in their difficult task of educating the Indian population politically. And this, when it is done, will be a big contribution to the Guatemalan revolution.)

The main forces of the revolution, and the most active, are concentrated in the southern and eastern areas of the country and in those areas in the highlands where political and economic development is at a higher level. During the democratic revolution the masses in these areas won wage increases, social legislation and land as a result of their struggle. And today it is these forces who are more opposed to the military dictatorship. Decisive for drawing the masses, whose gains have been trampled underfoot by the reactionaries, into active political struggle is not so much the question of changed conditions as that of carrying on extensive work to *raise* the level of their *consciousness* and to *organise* their struggle.

There is yet another aspect to this question. When speaking of the symptoms of a revolutionary situation, Lenin had in mind not only a worsening of the conditions of the masses. The "suffering of the oppressed classes" is intensified also as a result of the *political* offensive launched by the reactionaries; in our country this offensive has taken the form of the military coup and the brutal police repressions. There are other factors—transient and permanent—which might at any moment be decisive in sparking off a powerful political movement of the "lower strata".

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Lenin's thesis regarding independent political actions by the masses as an indispensable prerequisite for revolution should likewise be interpreted on the basis of a concrete examination of the situation.

In Guatemala the economic and political repressions by the ruling classes, particularly after the establishment of the military dictatorship, led to the disorganisation, prohibition and

liquidation of the mass organisations of the workers and peasants, and of definite forms of mass action. Unlike those Latin-American countries where the struggle against the ruling classes is carried on by fairly strong organisations, legal political parties, parliament, strikes, etc., in Guatemala the repressions have throttled the life and activity of the legal democratic organisations.

Our Party, knowing that revolution is impossible unless the main contingents of the working people are drawn into the struggle, is taking the necessary measures to organise and rally the masses.

The Party stresses the importance of workers and peasants participating in the revolutionary struggle now under way. This applies first and foremost to the countryside where the agricultural labourers and poor peasants in many areas are ready to join the struggle (much remains to be done, of course, to find the most suitable forms of struggle here). The Central Committee recently pointed out that ". . . special attention should be paid to drawing the working class and peasantry into the revolutionary struggle, and initiative should be displayed in finding the proper forms for achieving this. Headway will be impossible without the active participation of the working-class and peasant masses; without this participation it will be impossible to effect revolutionary changes in our country".

When speaking of organising the masses we do not say that this must be done *exclusively* through restoring the *traditional* organisations—trade unions and peasant unions. Naturally we are concerned about the trade union and peasant movements, we are fighting to protect them against the blows of the military dictatorship, and to promote their development and overcome the split in their ranks. But it would be a mistake to think that we can advance very far along this path as things are in Guatemala, to make the existence of strong trade unions and peasant organisations an obsolute prerequisite for the revolutionary actions which our Party, in common with all other democratic forces, wants—and not only wants but is compelled to organise, in reply to the ultra-reactionary policy of the dictatorship.

While attaching great importance to trade union work, our Party considers it necessary to look for other organisational forms of mass action *corresponding to the present situation.*

This question was discussed at the Third Congress of our Party (May 1960) which noted that in those cases where organisations cannot function legally because of the repressions, or because the working people fear that repressions would follow the formation of a legal organisation, underground organisations should be formed. With the inception of the armed struggle, for example, different organisational forms of supporting it have been found. Working people who reject the idea of legal organisation, believing this work to be "futile", are focusing their hatred for the dictatorship, their efforts to "bring back the revolution", on forming underground groups.

But it should be stressed again that the Party, notwithstanding the difficulties, is striving to use all legal avenues as a means of drawing the masses into the struggle. We hold that the mass struggle should not be confined to a struggle for *political aims* waged through political forms of organisation—legal or illegal; we also emphasise the need to uphold the social and economic demands of the masses. Interesting in this respect is the experience of the Communist Party of Salvador where the illegal organisations, initially formed with the object of organising an insurrection, were subsequently used to establish or reinforce legal mass organisations. This was made possible thanks to the political—educational work carried on among the workers and peasants in the underground insurrectionary groups or groups of a similar character. In the early stages they may be prepared to give their lives for the revolution, but when it comes to the humdrum, day-to-day activity, they prefer to work in underground groups. Subsequently, however, as a result of the patient and persistent political work carried on by the Communists, these sectarian sentiments are gradually overcome.

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In Guatemala the crisis of the "upper strata", which Lenin rightly regarded as one of the indispensable conditions for revolution, has acquired a specific and "permanent" character. Ten years have passed since the revolutionary government of Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown, yet the ruling classes have not been able to find the formula that would ensure them a stable government. In these ten years various reactionary governments had to contend not only with democratic opposition and the resistance of the people; they also encountered opposition on the part of the various reactionary groups. Their ultimate purpose was not so much Cabinet posts and parliamentary seats, as is the case in the other Latin-American countries of "representative democracy"; their purpose was to wrest the power from their rivals.

The hateful government imposed on Guatemala in 1954 through U.S. intervention was overthrown in 1957, following the assassination of Colonel Castillo Armas (assassinated by members of a rival reactionary group). The events leading up to this were twofold: the big demonstrations that swept the country at the time, and the intrigues of the reactionary opposition, headed by General Ydigoras Fuentes. Had the democratic trend been able to rally its forces (after the defeat of 1954) and organise independent and more powerful actions, the outcome would have been quite different from what the reactionary opposition had planned.

The Ydigoras Fuentes government which came to power some months later took a series of measures to safeguard itself against the plots of the reactionary circles which would not collaborate with it.

In March and April 1962 the strife in the camp of reaction became particularly pronounced when the Ydigoras government began to lose ground under the blows of the democratic movement and the heroic actions of the people on the streets. Taking advantage of this, the reactionary opposition connived with army leaders with a view to a *coup d'état*. But, alarmed by the growth of the revolutionary movement, the opposition drew back at the decisive moment. Fear of their common foe—revolution—overrode the differences among the rival groups who joined forces again during the military coup a year later. However, internal contradictions among the reactionary groups came to the fore again shortly after the military government had been installed, and today reactionaries are openly plotting to overthrow the Peralta Azurdia regime.

Thus the revolutionary movement in Guatemala has to contend not with a united and stable reactionary government but with a situation in which the contradictions the revolution will have to resolve are coupled with discord and conflict in the camp of the ruling classes. This circumstance should be borne in mind when analysing the maturity of the conditions for revolution in our country.

IV

If we were to draw a picture of the development of the mass movement in Guatemala over the last ten years it would remind one of the temperature chart of a sick person: steep upward curves (October 1957, March and April 1962, etc.) are followed by downward curves corresponding to the period of the relative passivity of the masses.

In the face of it the government has the situation under control. But in view of the general situation in the country it may well be that we shall see mass actions launched in retaliation for any steps taken by the government and above all action resulting from the unceasing revolutionary and organisational activity of the democratic forces. There is also the possibility that any one of these mass actions, if it happens to take place at a particularly crucial moment for the reactionary government, can overthrow it. Even now when the Central Committee considers that "support for the guerrilla detachments, their reinforcement and the extension of the armed movement are essential in order to give a correct political orientation to the democratic and revolutionary forces", we do not link the overthrow of the reactionary government with only one form of struggle—armed struggle—and with only one variant of this struggle—guerrilla warfare. In the process of guerrilla warfare—and even before it reaches its highest form (in the event of its developing successfully)—the most diverse situations are possible, any one of which may prove to be decisive. For instance, the spread of guerrilla warfare may inspire an uprising of the urban masses or their combined action with the armed forces which will turn against the reactionary regime.

The existence of an acute crisis at the top is constantly borne in mind by our revolutionary forces. To quote Lenin, a crisis in the policy of the ruling classes causes fissures, through which "the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes bursts forth", causing the masses to take decisive action. Should the crisis "at the top" deepen, it does not necessarily follow that the enemy will be *completely* defeated militarily. In Cuba, for instance, the Batista dictatorship was overthrown before its armed forces were completely smashed.

Considering the deeply reactionary nature of the Guatamalan military it is hardly to be expected that they will become a decisive lever in the development of the revolution as was the case in Egypt in 1952 and in Burma in 1961. But our Party, while combating the illusions of some of the democratic opposition who see in a military coup something in the nature of a panacea, does not rule out the possibility of a clash in the army, or other such situations arising which could be used by the people. The Central Committee calls the attention of all democratic forces closely to follow the developments in the reactionary camp so as to be able to use some of the processes or events taking place there in the interests of the revolution.

But no matter how important these processes may be the *unity of all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces* is the cardinal political condition for the victory of the revolution. Our Party has steadfastly supported the policy of a united democratic front, has always helped the other democratic groups and is prepared to help them still more to rebuild their illegal organisations. Today, as in the years immediately following the overthrow of the democratic government of Arbens in 1954, our Party is the only democratic party that has preserved its organisation. But we regard this not from the standpoint of "narrow-party" interests, as something of "advantage to ourselves", but as one of the main weaknesses in the democratic movement. For we know that there are big sections of the population who would follow the other democratic parties and whom our Party has not yet reached and will not be able to reach for some time to come.

After the coup of March 30 the democratic forces formed the United Resistance Front (U.R.F.). This, while a positive step, falls short of what the situation requires. First of all the illusions nourished by some of the democratic parties in the Front regarding a progressive military coup make for a situation where they tend to swing from one extreme to another in their co-operation with the Front.

Secondly, these parties are as yet not interested in giving the Front a *mass basis* and the *organisational structure* best suited to the conditions of Guatemala. Our viewpoint on this is that "the United Resistance Front will not be able to play its role unless it has a ramified network of organisations in which all democratic people, irrespective of whether or not they are members of the Front parties, co-operate in the spirit of unity".

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The policy of the ruling classes has forced the people to take to arms. The revolution is developing in a non-peaceful way. People sincerely interested in the prospects of the struggle in Guatemala often say to us: Are you sure that the path you have chosen will lead to victory? In view of the fact that the guerrilla movement is only in its initial phase, it is impossible to say with absolute certainty that it will be victorious. Not a single Marxist party that entered the arena of revolutionary battles could predict that at a particular stage of the struggle it would be victorious. International experience shows that the success of the people's armed struggle depends not only on the will and selflessness of the revolutionaries, but above all on the objective conditions necessary for the overthrow of the reactionary government, on the ability of the revolutionary forces to draw the masses into the struggle to overthrow the reactionary regime.

We believe, and this belief determines the political line and practical activity of our Party, that a certain degree of maturity of the conditions for revolution and the objective trend making for their further ripening exist in Guatemala. And our Party will do all in its power to reach this goal. A long and difficult struggle lies ahead. Its success will again open the way to the Guatemalan revolution, the tenth anniversary of whose tragic defeat we are marking at this writing.

Specialisation of Production in the Socialist World System

STANISLAW KUZINSKI

THE aims and methods of the division of labour between the socialist countries always engage the attention of the public generally and, more particularly, of economists and researchers. This is understandable because we are now beginning to develop a stable system of international economic relations, which will have a growing impact on our economy.

The principles of the international socialist division of labour were set forth at the 1962 meeting of the first secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. They were reaffirmed and in a number of aspects specified at the next meeting in 1963. The decisions

of these meetings are now beginning to be realised, and the methods of the division of labour and of co-operation are being elaborated and improved.

Experts in the numerous standing bodies of the Council are working on a wide range of problems with a view to eliminating the irregularities in this new field of endeavour.

1 The socialist principles of the international division of labour rule (and their implementation confirms) that each country has the sovereign right either to show or not show an interest in one or another joint undertaking. A decision made by one country is not binding on the country which has not expressed agreement with it. In contrast to the majority principle, it is not an easy matter to carry out in practice the principle of *harmony of opinion and unanimity* on general questions, and yet this unanimity is essential for the unity and sovereignty of the countries.

Needless to say, the maintenance of the sovereign rights and independence within the limits in which they are generally possible in the conditions of rapid technological advance and the rising scale of production depends on the rate of growth of the economy and of the national income. Rapid economic growth for any lengthy period is impossible without opening new branches of industry and equipping the entire economy with modern plant and machinery. Deliveries of plant from the more advanced socialist countries facilitate and accelerate the solution of this task. For the less developed countries this aid is of vital importance. Take the important decisions that specific countries should specialise in designing and delivering complete sets of plant produced in co-operation with other countries. This will make it possible to attain a high technological level and lower production costs.

But it should be stressed that specialisation by no means signifies a desire to secure for the more developed countries a monopoly in producing means of production while imposing on the less developed ones a one-sided economy. The "Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labour" say: "In the socialist world system there are favourable conditions not only for consistent and planned deepening of the division of labour between the countries but also for forming in each of them a rational complex of interdependent and mutually complementary branches of the national economy. This approach implies a multi-branch structure combining industry and agriculture, mineral extraction and manufacture, production of means of production and the production of consumer goods in a single optimal complex.

"International specialisation and the development of national economic complexes in the socialist countries condition one another. It is only through their harmonious combination that the fullest and most economical utilisation of the productive forces of each country and of the socialist camp as a whole can be ensured."

The overall economic development and the specialisation taking place depend in each country on its area, population, scale and variety of its raw materials resources. But even for a country of the size of the Soviet Union, which needs all branches of industry, it will be expedient to use the technical solutions elaborated earlier or better in the other, smaller countries and to engage in an advantageous exchange of its goods for goods produced at a lower cost in other countries. On the other hand, it is necessary to stress the role which the Soviet Union plays, as a big importer of machinery and equipment, in developing serial production in other countries. For Poland, for example, the building of ocean-going ships for the U.S.S.R. was a big factor in expanding Poland's ship-building industry.

For the smaller countries the international socialist division of labour is all the more essential, although for them, too, industrialisation is the high road to progress. Ensuring a steady economic growth necessitates readjusting the structure of the economy for at least the following reasons:

—a more productive employment of the able-bodied population presupposes that part of the labour force be shifted from agriculture to industry; this is needed, in particular, in order to accelerate growth of agricultural production and meet the growing food requirements;

—consumption is shifted increasingly towards manufactured goods, while the share of agricultural produce in total consumption is falling;

—steady growth of the economy necessitates reinforcing the production sector servicing industrial investments (primarily production of machines and building materials); to import these goods in exchange for agricultural products would be unprofitable and, in most cases, even impossible, because agriculture does not produce enough surpluses for this purpose; it is necessary, in almost all cases, to produce and, subsequently, to export machines and equipment, instead of importing them, for this is needed as a rule to maintain the balance of

payments of the developing country. Needless to say, each country decides what branches it wants to develop, on the basis of the home conditions and needs.

Guided by experience, the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid have agreed on the lines of industrialisation: ". . . Natural conditions and traditions should not be overestimated; their most effective and complete utilisation should be accompanied by creating new conditions and traditions in conformity with the tasks of building socialism and communism."

But does this mean that industrialisation in smaller countries should copy in every detail the development in the big socialist countries? Of course not. This would damage the former and would be an obstacle to the basic trend of the modern productive forces.

International division of labour is an objective process, the operation of which depends on the planning in the sovereign socialist countries. Its purpose is to create the best possible conditions for extended reproduction, and particularly for industrial expansion. *All-round development of socialist industry and establishing an optimal economic complex in each country does not exclude but rather presupposes international division of labour and specialisation.*

Optimal utilisation of both the country's own resources and the advantages accruing from international division of labour, the considerable saving of investments through their co-ordination on an international scale, the lowering of production costs thanks to the enlarged scale of production, raising quality of output up to world standards achieved by concentrating the efforts of designers on the key problems of industrial research—these are highly important factors of economic growth in all socialist countries; they will acquire even greater importance for maintaining the rate of growth needed for raising the standard of living and ensuring victory in the peaceful competition with capitalism.

Some of the European socialist countries, including Poland, are now taking steps to cut down the assortment of the home-produced machines and details, and in agreement with other countries are planning extension of capital construction, particularly in the machine-building and chemical industries. We have only lost from failing to see the advantages of this kind of division of labour and international co-operation. This was partly due to our relying too much on our own designing solutions and failure to take due account of the costs involved.

In my view, not all the socialist countries, and not even all the members of the Council, are making the most of the opportunities offered by the international socialist division of labour. This, perhaps, is because some of the countries, while seeing the advantages of international co-operation, fear that the overall interests of the community or the interests of the more developed countries will prevail over those of the smaller or economically less developed states.

It should be said of course that there really is a problem of combining the interests of the separate countries with those of the community as a whole, and it cannot be resolved simply in accordance with the principle of absolute priority being given to the community interests, at the expense (even if relative and transient) of the interests of separate countries. Moreover, the possibility of any such priority is highly theoretical: each country has and uses the sovereign right to decide as it thinks fit.

However, the problem is there, and what is more, it is closely linked with another vital matter affecting the international socialist division of labour—that of gradually evening up the economic levels of the socialist countries by way of higher-than-average rates of development in those countries which inherited a low economic level from capitalism.

2 In examining the latter problem we should proceed, in our view, from the premise that the methods of planning used in one country cannot be extended to international planning, or, to be more precise, to those initial elements of international planning which are on the order of the day. This applies, in particular, to the methods of inter-branch and territorial allocation of investments and also to the division of labour based on existing production capacity.

Allocation of investments is a complex issue primarily because it affects the balance of payments, i.e., the need to balance the national-income inflow with outflow to other countries over a given period. The principle of allocating investments on the scale of the community as a whole in keeping with the criterion of maximum efficiency would in many cases result in an outflow of part of the national income of some countries to others, i.e., to those countries where the investments would have the greatest effect. True, of course, some kind of compensation for this outflow can be found, but not always would it solve the question of maximum use of the *labour force* in the investing country.

This means that in order to secure the maximum growth of *social labour productivity* (measured by quantity of output in relation to the total labour force) on the basis of the investments available in the given country, it is essential to consider the system of internal proportions in its economy. Moreover, the rates of growth should be higher for the less developed countries.

Even in internal planning the criterion is not only the efficiency of investments, but the whole complex of factors which determine whether or not it is desirable, in the context of the economy as a whole, to build a particular capital project. Thus, along with the need to take care of the available labour force, it is most essential not to overlook the overall balance of the economy. It would be impermissible, for example, that rejection of a project (even though yielding a minor effect according to the purely quantitative calculation) should impede other production capacities or make it impossible to go ahead with more profitable lines of production. Moreover, an important, and often decisive, role can be played by such factors as technological and organisational solutions, the advantage of further processing raw materials and semi-finished products on the spot, etc.

For these reasons it is quite possible that an objective contradiction may arise between the efficiency of the investments on the scale of the community as a whole and their efficiency in the separate countries.

Theoretically, this contradiction can be resolved in one of two ways:

(1) by agreeing to accept as primary the criterion of efficiency on the scale of one country. The principle of balanced payments should be fully preserved. This has been the usual practice so far. That is why we say that now the co-ordination of the national-economic plans (and not direct international planning) is decisive;

(2) by agreeing to the criterion of investment efficiency on the scale of the community as a whole. This presupposes a special international computation of the costs and of benefits which accrue to the member countries from the division of labour, presupposes a variety of ways of balancing this computation, providing simultaneously for more rapid development of the countries that are at a lower level. Just as in the case of internal planning, this way, too requires that efficiency be assessed not only from the standpoint of costs.

In the *long run* all the socialist countries are deeply interested in resolving the foregoing contradiction in the second way. But for the immediate future this solution collides with the current tasks and possibilities of the separate countries. Moreover, as yet we do not have the instrument to make multi-lateral computations with the necessary precision. What is really needed is a system of accounting that would balance the share of each country in the expenditures and profits in keeping with the average or branch rate of profit. Even in individual countries serious inaccuracies occur in the computation of expenditures, proportions in prices of means of production are often incorrect, the depreciation rates are sometimes inappropriate, etc.; in a word, distortions of prime cost occur. Although these distortions adversely affect the mechanism of the economy (in part they are justified by the policy on the given sector), ultimately they balance in terms of the whole economy. But internationally, it is not yet possible to compare costs, inasmuch as the systems of price formation and their structures differ from country to country. It is easier to make this comparison in the raw-materials industry where either technical indices or natural characteristics can be taken as a basis (the problem of how to calculate the "cost" of labour remains to be solved). Hence the transition to the international assessment of efficiency can most probably be achieved in the fuel and raw-materials industries, all the more so that co-ordination of effort on their development is a most essential task for the near future. Complete comparability, requiring unification of the systems of accounting, will also make it possible to use foreign currency according to its real value.

In Poland the price reform and the nation-wide inventory of basic production facilities and the subsequent adjustment of depreciation rates have made it possible to eliminate many flaws in the economy.

When the question of comparing costs on the international plane is solved, conditions will also mature for working out a basis for prices corresponding to value in our community. The Council is conducting research in this sphere. This is important for we must find ways and means of comparing inputs and outputs in the complex economic conditions (for example, when the rate of investment needed for a certain kind of output is low but cost of exploitation is high, or vice versa).

We are only in the initial phase of international socialist division of labour, when efficiency accounting is practised predominantly on the scale of the separate countries, and the aggregate

structural economic connections in the particular country are decisive. The spheres of contact and mutual investments are still somewhat restricted.

But the conditions are ripening for gradually passing over to the next stage when the proper forms of calculating costs and profits on an international scale will be found. We should not wait until the level of research and planning is of due standard; we do not want to remain at the first, limited stage of our co-operation. One way to advance to the next stage is to compile common balances of fuels and certain kinds of raw materials. Another way, we believe, could be mutual credits for developing the raw-materials industries as compensation for the greater investment required for such projects. These and similar forms bring us nearer to attainment of optimum allocation of funds and the sharing of effort on the scale of the community, a scale corresponding to the international socialist relations of production.

3 At present priority is given to co-ordinating national-economic plans as the principal form of co-operation. We maintain, in particular, that most important is co-ordination of investments in view of the fact that in the next twenty years (between 1960 and 1980) investments in the member-countries of the Council will increase roughly five-fold. Without this heavy losses may be incurred. A large part of these investments will be channelled into those branches of industry earmarked for the greatest number of specialised enterprises.

Let us briefly examine some economic aspects of specialisation in the manufacturing industry.

It is common knowledge that the differences in the economic levels of the socialist countries are expressed generally in that the share of manufacturing industry in overall value of output varies from country to country. In particular, this applies to the machine-building industry which needs far less capital for its output than other branches. Hence, any concentration of machine-building in the more developed countries (where it would seem, conditions are more favourable) would place the latter in a privileged position—a unit of increase in their output would require less outlay than that in countries in which the share of output requiring high rates of investment is considerable. In order to obtain the given indicator of growth, a developed country could allocate a smaller part of its national income for investment.

In reality, however, even in this more developed country, in our view, the above-mentioned trend has its limits—the limited labour force and the need to increase output exclusively by way of raising labour productivity. Shortage of manpower poses the question of automation and, consequently, of raising the rate of investment. A similar increase of output in the engineering industry in countries relatively less developed but possessing sufficient resources of labour can be obtained with comparatively smaller investments. Here we have one of the essential economic arguments in favour of developing machine-building in the less advanced countries.

On the other hand, the more industrialised countries should allocate a part of their funds to such industries requiring heavy investments whose output is needed both in their own balances and in the balances of the Council members as a whole (for instance, the basic semi-finished products of the iron and steel and chemical industries, and extraction of raw materials wherever profitable) in order to equalise the advantages they enjoy in view of the big ratio of machines in production and in export. For, although the rate of investment in the engineering industry tends to grow, this branch remains the most profitable sphere of investment (and, in addition, it usually yields the highest currency receipts per unit of self-cost of output). It goes without saying that all the socialist countries aim at exporting as many machines as possible and are steadily increasing their investments for this branch of industry. But one can hardly imagine all the countries exporting only machines and industrial plant. That is why the contracts with the U.S.S.R.—the biggest importer of machinery from the European socialist countries—are so important and beneficial.

At present the decisions on specialisation in the engineering industry should proceed from the principle of relative advantage for each country. This implies that each country, by cutting down the range of products and concentrating on the remainder, will be able to increase output and reduce costs (to concentrate designing and research, modernise production, etc.). If we assume that lowering of production costs amounted to a certain per cent in each country, i.e., would be proportionate to the amount of the costs, then each country would receive a relatively equal share of profit. The total profit of all the countries would be the sum of the profits gained by individual partners. Implementation of this principle would leave the funds obtained from the export of specialised output at the disposal of each partner, and these could be used for buying machines from the other countries party to the agreement.

On the other hand, concentration of production in a country which has reached the highest level of labour productivity would signify the need for other countries to acquire funds by exporting the goods which they produce with great efficiency. But since these chances are few, these countries would have to export goods requiring heavier investments or those that yield less foreign currency. These can be, for example, either agricultural produce or minerals and other raw materials. This kind of specialisation would retard the development of these countries and would not be conducive to evening up their economic levels.

The above is, of course, an extremely simplified way of putting things. Nevertheless, in our view, it helps to define the principle in question. The principle, of course, cannot be a rigid pattern for specialisation. Hence we must make the most of the technological experience of the more developed socialist countries, experience which is vital to new technological initiatives.

As we see it, a similar approach should be adopted to the utilisation of existing production capacities. Understandably all the countries are using these capacities as fully as the available manpower permits, for this is the way to accumulate funds for capital construction. Hence a distinction should be made between the aims and the tasks of specialisation for the immediate period and for long term. As regards the building of new capacities, we should work out and apply common criteria of investment efficiency connected with specialisation in order to co-ordinate international planning. These criteria should effectively combine the interests of the separate countries with the interests of the community as a whole and, at the same time, help accelerate the advance of the economically less developed countries.

Scale of production emerges as part of the general question of specialisation. Above all it should be stressed that scale of production should not be confused with concentration of production which is determined by the number of workers employed in the given enterprise. A big factory does not yet signify production on the optimum scale. In Poland, for example, the average size of engineering works (according to numbers employed) is bigger than in the U.S.A. But this does not mean that we run production on the optimum scale. The range of items produced by our factories is too wide. This, firstly, does not permit the most economical output, and, secondly, it hinders concentration of technicians and improvement of production techniques and the technical quality of the produced items.

The problem of scale is posed differently, depending on the branch and stage of production. In many branches of the engineering industry the optimum scale may be lower at the stage of assembly and higher in the production of separate parts, units, etc.

But this means that the nature of the production process makes possible a division of labour between the countries capable of providing the best technological and economic conditions of production and enabling each country to participate in the development of the given branch. The problem of the scale of production is of no importance for most products of the engineering industry. It applies chiefly to equipment for the non-ferrous metals, chemical, electric power and paper industries, etc. This does not mean, however, that here there is no need for specialisation: in all these areas the marginal efficiency of production and the best technological results can be obtained only through concentrating production and research. Evidently, concentration can be effected only by way of dividing labour between, and combining the efforts of the various countries. And this calls for definite organisational and economic steps. At the same time, there is the problem of combining the optimum scale of production in separate plants with the optimum concentration of research for several plants of the given branch or for several branches. Linked with this is the question of harmonising optimum scale of production with optimum scale of economic organisation, for instance, joint enterprises and associations and other forms of co-operation.

These problems, which require a differentiated approach in the various branches of the economy, allow of no cut and dried solutions and presuppose application of the technological and organisational experience of all countries. Anything in the nature of local particularism would be just as harmful as the propensity for oversize projects.

Problems of co-operation and specialisation are closely related to the present stage of development of the productive forces of the socialist world system. And the international socialist relations of production are a powerful lever for their rapid development.

The People of Honduras in the Fight against Reaction and Imperialism

ALONZO MUNOZ

BEFORE analysing the political situation in Honduras let us first examine some problems connected with imperialist penetration in our country. The Villeda Morales government which was overthrown in the autumn of 1963 as a result of a military coup did not really put any obstacles in the way of U.S. capital penetration, apart from that one occasion when it made a puny effort to sign a contract with a French company to build a power station on the Rio Lindo river. It was puny because the government hastened to revise its decision when Colonel Velasquez Cerrato of Nicaragua threatened to invade Honduras in the event of the contract being signed; the National Congress turned it down on the grounds that the French company had allegedly violated the laws of the country and had not given the necessary guarantees; and Villeda Morales promptly sacked Francisco Milla Bermudez, Minister of Natural Resources, and Fernando Villar, Minister of the Economy and Finances, who had initialled the contract. Later, a special Congress committee called on U.S. Ambassador Newbegin, and assured him that the power station would be built only with U.S. capital. The committee also requested the Ambassador to use his good offices on behalf of the Honduras government, it being quite clear that the threat of invasion had been inspired by Washington which sought in this way to "convince" Villeda Morales of the futility of looking for capital other than from the United States. With the exception of this one half-hearted attempt, the Villeda Morales government always bowed to foreign interests.

Foreign Interests and the Villeda Morales Government

The Liberal government came to power on the crest of popular discontent with the Lozano Diaz administration. At first it enjoyed the support of the masses who hoped that it would change the previous anti-national policy of the ruling circles. But, like their predecessors, the Liberals took their cue from the U.S. monopolies. The following is a case in point.

Two months after Villeda Morales came to power a conflict broke out between the workers and the Cerveceria Hondurena, S.A. Company in San Pedro Sula. The President, accompanied by members of the government and the Supreme Court, hastened to the city to settle the conflict, for U.S. interests were involved, the company being dependent on Standard Fruit. Some months later, when the workers employed in San Pedro Sula's footwear factories went on strike, Villeda Morales did not appear on the scene, for in this case the strike did not affect any North American monopoly.

It is an open secret that at first the North American monopolies tried to thwart the Liberal Party's chances of coming to power, for Villeda Morales had announced that his programme for the working people was " . . . 8 hours' work, 8 lempiras (1 lempira=0.5 dollars) pay a day and 8 hours' leisure". This was the usual vote-catching promise of the politician which he never honoured. Still, the foreign companies took fright. After the election returns had been twice annulled and the reactionary Nationalist Party refused to transfer power to the Liberals, the military junta which had temporarily taken over appointed Villeda Morales (on the recommendation of the U.S. Ambassador) Ambassador to Washington. Upon his return Morales who in the meantime had revised his election programme declared: "Our enemies of yesterday who resisted our victory are with us today." The Liberals, bent on getting into office, began to plot and intrigue in the top circles with a view to placating North American imperialism instead of rallying the patriotic forces and relying on them in the fight against U.S. domination.

The Communist Party did not take a sectarian attitude towards the Villeda Morales government. From the very outset the Communists realised that while it was necessary to oppose those aspects of the government's policy that adversely affected the people, it was also necessary to support those measures directed to some extent against the internal and external enemies of the country. We circulated in thousands of copies the open letters which our Party addressed to Villeda Morales, drawing his attention to the grave threat from the reactionary forces and to the urgency of satisfying the people's demands and of changing government policy. In these letters the Party also formulated the tasks facing the country.

The Government, however, chose another course. Obeying the *diktat* of the State Department, it broke off diplomatic relations with revolutionary Cuba, although Villeda Morales declared at the time that he was but "suspending relations". This was followed by repressive measures against the growing democratic movement. All the demonstrations protesting against the severing of relations with Cuba were banned. The students and working people who managed to reach the President's palace were not allowed to see the President. Several days later the Government published a warning saying that all movements in solidarity with Cuba would be suppressed.

The Communist Party denounced the decision to break with Cuba, showed that this negative policy had alienated the Government from the masses and that it could pave the way to a military coup. Our papers and the democratic press generally continued to publish materials about the solidarity movement in support of Cuba, about the success of the Cuban revolution and refuting the slander of the North American imperialists. Undaunted by the Government's threats, our people continued to voice their protest in connection with imperialist aggression against Cuba, continued their solidarity with the Cuban people whose struggle lights the way to the national and social emancipation of all the peoples of Latin America.

Unemployment and Poverty

The Villeda Morales Government did nothing to eliminate the real reasons for the widespread poverty in town and countryside. The lion's share of the national income still remained in the hands of the oligarchy.

Unemployed in the towns number 60,000. This does not include the part-time employed and the tens of thousands of peasants flocking to the towns in search of a livelihood.

Much was said by the Government about the need to tackle the unemployment problem. In his annual messages to Congress Villeda Morales always promised jobs and declared that new enterprises would be built. But every time the unemployed demanded work the Government's answer was repressions and imprisonment.

As before, malnutrition and the lack of medical care took their toll of lives, infantile mortality remained high, and the housing problem acute. The barest necessities were not satisfied. A welfare council—a kind of philanthropic organisation established by the Government to "care" for the people—did not resolve a single vital problem.

Government's Policy Towards the Trade Unions

The anti-democratic nature of the government was reflected also in its attitude to the trade unions. It interfered in their internal affairs, sided with the exploiters, and especially with the U.S. monopolies.

Florez, Minister of Labour, went so far as to dissolve the unions, of course, with the agreement of the employers. His purpose was to revert to the practice when all contracts were concluded directly between employer and worker and when these contracts could be broken at will.

The Ministry of Labour assiduously propagated "class harmony" between labour and capital and victimised Communists and militants. ORIT (Inter-American Regional Organisation of Working People), jointly with the Ministry of Labour, pursued a policy aimed at dividing the working people.

With the support of ORIT the banana companies organised their own "unions". Standard Fruit Co., for example, formed three company unions. The Tela Railroad Company followed suit. The true purpose of this "organising" fever was to circumvent the Labour Code, cut wages and undermine the genuine trade unions.

As a result of the split in the unions the Labour Code became a travesty.

Confronted with the onslaught launched by the employers and the Villeda Morales government and today by the "gorillas", headed by Lopez Arellano, the working people fought back for their rights and the independence of their unions. The democrats learned to combat the agents of the employers and ORIT who had penetrated into the working-class movement; they overcame dictatorial and sectarian tendencies. This paved the way to unity and better understanding among working people of different political views and religious beliefs. The Government retaliated with repressive measures and the employers with wholesale dismissals.

Still, the working people achieved positive results. Unity was restored among a number of unions as was evidenced by their joint celebration of May Day in 1963. Previously both in the capital, Tegucigalpa, and along the north coast where the banana companies have their plantations, the meetings of working people were held separately by organisations of

different trends. In many unions agents of the employers, both local and foreign, were able to befuddle the membership. Not so now, thanks to the unity which has helped the workers to see who upholds their interests and who favours a split. The agents of the reactionaries began to lose ground; at union meetings the workers denounced the splitters. In a number of cases the splitters were driven out of the T.U. leadership.

The results of the unity movement were particularly evident among the employees of the Standard Fruit Company. These workers were organised in three unions which, incited by the employers, were at loggerheads with each other, instead of carrying on a common struggle against the monopolies.

The efforts to form a national trade union organisation also helped towards an alliance of workers and peasants. The unions called for a democratic agrarian reform, and demanded that the Liberal Party honour its election promises to the peasantry.

The Peasants' Demand for an Agrarian Reform

For many years now the peasants of our country have been waging a struggle for land and decent conditions. Numerous large-scale peasant actions took place during the fifties. Various governments pursued a policy of deception and repressions against the peasants. In his election programme Villeda Morales promised agrarian reform and action against the latifundia. But he made no mention of this in his inaugural speech, and merely spoke of settlement on the unused government land in remote areas. The President quite clearly had no intention of tackling the agrarian problem.

However, after the publication of the "Theses on Agrarian Reform" which posed the question of the vast tracts held by the latifundists, the peasantry intensified their struggle. They began to occupy and cultivate the land, without paying rent to the latifundists. The biggest seizures were along the north coast, on the land allocated to Standard Fruit and Tela Railroad and known as "reserves". In a matter of days the peasants erected makeshift dwellings and moved in. The companies resorted to every possible means to drive the squatters off the land: they destroyed the crops by letting loose herds of cattle on the cultivated fields, caused flooding, and so on. Troops were sent to guard the "reserves". The soldiers used force against the peasants in an attempt to make them leave the land. But the peasants stood firm.

Subsequently, the National Peasant Federation (N.P.F.) was formed. With branches in nearly forty areas it has a membership of more than 20,000. The company unions retaliated by forming their own so-called "Peasant Federation". Despite this manoeuvre, the N.P.F. is the strongest and most representative peasant organisation in the country.

Speaking of the struggle being waged in the countryside, special mention should be made of the peasant march from Yoro to El Progreso for agrarian reform. Similar marches were held in other areas. A special committee was appointed to submit the demand for agrarian reform to the President.

Under the pressure of these actions the National Congress subsequently promulgated an agrarian law which in some respects could be described as anti-feudal. However, at the Costa Rica meeting of Presidents of Central America in 1963, the foreign companies demanded, through the U.S. President, that the law be amended. Villeda Morales hastened to assure the meeting that he would ask Congress to do so, in view of the "anti-democratic character of the law". And sure enough, immediately upon his return all that was progressive in the agrarian reform was, in effect, eliminated.

The Coup d'Etat and the Responsibility of the Political Parties

In accordance with the Constitution elections were to be held in October 1963 to elect a president and the deputies to the National Congress. The election struggle developed mainly between the two traditional parties—the ruling Liberal Party and the Nationalist Party.

The Nationalist Party, which includes many top-ranking officers, has always upheld the interests of the latifundists and the monopolies. In the period it was in office, nearly 25 years (from 1933 to 1957), it had discredited itself in the eyes of the people and stood no chance of being re-elected within the framework of representative democracy.

The Liberal Party nominated Modesto Rodas Alvarado, Speaker of the National Congress, as its Presidential candidate. Villeda Morales warned his colleagues at the nomination conference that Alvarado was not the man to win the confidence of the electorate, achieve "national unity", enlist the support of the armed forces and thus prevent a coup d'état. His warning, however, was ignored. Although there was no apparent rift as a result of his

nomination, the Liberal Party nevertheless lost the unity needed to retain power and forestall the military from staging a coup.

The Nationalist Party prepared the ground for this by spreading rumours to the effect that partisans were operating in the southeast of the country. The army went into action and bombed the areas where the partisans were supposed to be; but no partisans were found. Then came more rumours to the effect that the Government was supporting the aims of the partisans and for this reason the situation in the south constituted a threat to the security of the state.

Simultaneously, the Nationalist Party carried on a campaign against the election lists which, it alleged, had been falsified. It also opposed the electoral law, insisting that it be substantially amended since the parties did not, it claimed, enjoy equal status. The Nationalists further maintained that the Government had failed to guarantee a really democratic electoral procedure, to guarantee that measures of compulsion would not be used against the electorate; according to Nationalist Party propaganda, the Liberal Party had armed its "black army", the national guard, in order to ensure its victory at the polls.

Meanwhile, the reactionary press began to advocate the idea of a coup. In a sense a coup would solve the problem of the Nationalist Party which had little chance of winning the election in the ordinary way. Its manifesto spoke of the "salutary" mission of the army in view of the "conspiracy of international communism" which, it was said, threatened the democratic institutions and national sovereignty. In short, this party supplied the military brass with the arguments needed to justify ousting the Liberals.

A few days before the coup of October 3, 1963, a coup inspired by the Pentagon, the Nationalist leaders informed the army command that they had the support of some military circles and that the U.S. Government knew of their plans. The purpose of the coup was to arrest the growth of the democratic movement in the country and to crush the actions of the working class, peasantry, small bourgeoisie and some sections of the national bourgeoisie against the imperialist monopolies. In this case the military acted as the armed support of U.S. imperialism, as the spokesman of the banana companies and the Nationalist Party.

After the Coup

The workers and peasants were the first to feel the consequences of the coup. Troops occupied the premises of the trade unions along the north coast and arrested their leaders. This was to be expected seeing that Standard Fruit and Tela Railroad had helped to finance the coup. In the countryside peasants were arrested en masse and thrown into prison. Many of them were killed. The Communist Party was hounded. It was not long before the whole country was turned into a prison.

Neither before nor after the coup did the Liberal Party or its government take any steps to prevent the military from putting their anti-democratic and pro-imperialist designs into effect. Rodas Alvarado who, it was claimed, had more than 500,000 votes in his pocket, did no more than ask the army to guarantee his personal safety.

Hundreds of Liberals, including leaders of the party, were arrested but released some two weeks later. Not so the imprisoned democrats, union leaders and Communists.

One month after the coup, i.e. in November 1963, the government announced the date for a new election. The announcement was made at a time when even elementary measures to protect personal safety were ignored, with the curfew still in force. In these circumstances there could be no question of a normal election. Yet the Executive Committee of the Liberal Party decided to collaborate with the putschists by participating in the state committee formed to draft a new electoral law. This decision was taken after a meeting with Knox, an American, who "persuaded" the Liberals to take this step, hinting that the State Department would recognise the government, irrespective of what the Liberals decided to do. The local committees of the Liberal Party declared, however, that they had not authorised the Executive Committee to negotiate at a time when people were being arrested and murdered. Because of their attitude a number of leaders of the Liberal Party were denounced in widely circulated leaflets as traitors to their party and the people. Rank-and-file members and some local officials of the Liberal Party began to look for ways of establishing contact with the other democratic organisations and helping them in their struggle.

The Struggle Enters a New Stage

On September 27, 1963, the Communist Party issued a statement in which it laid bare the political motives behind the military coup. The statement denounced the propaganda of the reactionaries, showed who were the real enemies of the people and called on the working class, peasantry and the people generally, to be vigilant.

In thousands of leaflets it exposed the scheming of the North American imperialists, and the Pentagon's direct responsibility for the coup. In various documents the Party called on the public to help the prisoners and their families, outlined the tasks facing the people, stressing that it was essential to rally the masses if these tasks were to be tackled successfully. Two months after the coup the Communist Party, overcoming the difficulties and making good its losses, was able to announce with legitimate pride that it had re-organised its ranks in the principal centres of the country. The people's resolve to oppose the military government was reflected in the forming of Party branches in areas where they had not existed before.

After the coup a number of political organisations and trade unions declared their readiness to help form a united front of struggle against the plotters. They issued leaflets protesting against the repressions and calling on the people to fight for their democratic rights. A United Liberation Movement has come into being. This movement, which has a broad programme, is making headway in all parts of the country. Also a People's Action Front, relying on the peasants, has made its appearance. The Front aims to develop a guerrilla movement and prepare the people for action to end their present intolerable conditions. Other organisations that have made their appearance are the Patriotic Committee for Defence of the People's Rights, the National Patriotic Junta, the Revolutionary Directorate, the Honduras Revolutionary Party, the Democratic Constitutional Movement, formed by one-time Liberal Party members, and a women's organisation. Well to the fore is the Communist Youth League which heads the country's young people—students, workers and peasants—in their fight against the reactionaries and U.S. imperialism.

The groups, parties and unions waging a struggle against the military, the imperialist companies and their agents in the country, are steadily gaining in strength. Overcoming the difficulties, and despite still existing differences and lack of understanding between the various groups, the national democratic front of the people is slowly but surely advancing, the front of struggle against imperialism, against poverty and backwardness, for the rights of the people, for the restoration of the national independence of our country.

The Universality of Contradiction and the Concreteness of Truth

Philosophical and Political Aspects

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THE philosophy of every historical period reflects the level of the social relations and, at the same time, the extent to which men understand the essence of these relations. Contemporary society is in a state of revolutionary flux. The historical processes are becoming more and more dynamic, many-sided and variegated. Simultaneously, the subjective factor is coming to play a bigger role in the changes taking place in society. This is true not only of the socialist world, where the purposeful and concentrated will of men who have assimilated the objective laws of social development plays an increasing role in resolving the objective tasks; it is also true of the capitalist world, where the growing role of the working class and the influence exerted by the socialist system are modifying the operation of socio-economic laws and presenting greater possibilities for a conscious intervention by the revolutionary forces in the process of history.

But the effect of the subjective factor depends on how thoroughly the revolutionary vanguard is acquainted with the laws of social development in the specific historical situation. The revolutionary struggle, which affects the fate of millions of people, calls for the same accurate planning as is needed, say, when launching a spaceship. Just as the conditions of a space flight are modelled beforehand in terms of mathematics, success in social planning depends on how thoroughly it is reasoned out with the help of materialist dialectics. Materialist dialectics is the methodological basis for the scientific interpretation and understanding of the social processes, for the correct determination of the political line in the most complex conditions and, at crucial moments, the guiding light in determining strategic aims and selecting the tactics and forms and methods of the struggle.

There was a time when dogmatism did considerable damage to Marxist dialectics. It impinged on its soul, on the concept of development, the development of dialectics included, and hampered its creative growth. As a consequence, there appeared a disparity between the dogmatic concept of the laws of dialectics and, subsequently, the method of applying them to concrete situations, on the one hand, and the practical requirements of political struggle, on the other. In recent times, too, much to our regret, abstract lip service is all too often being paid to dialectics, while the dialectical method is virtually neglected when examining fundamental political problems. There are those who would prefer to discard the "perplexing" laws of dialectics, for, as they say, life would be so much easier without them.

This approach has resulted in the penetration of empiricism and pragmatism into the social sciences. The danger has arisen that the level of the theoretical analysis of reality may sharply deteriorate and, consequently, the competence of political leadership. Meanwhile, the experience of the class struggle, both past and present, insistently demands from Marxists a carrying forward of materialist dialectics, its closer association with politics, final elimination of dogmatism, and more thorough and deeper-going dialectical analysis of specific historical situations and processes. The development of dialectics is incompatible with the personality cult, which assumes that the man in supreme political power also has supreme philosophical wisdom.

Dialectics has always developed through struggle with its adversaries and with its vulgarisers. At present, too, for Marxist dialectics to advance, the abstract schematic concepts of Mao Tse-tung, which are being persistently advertised and pressed upon Marxists in all countries, must be overcome.

Mao Tse-tung's concept of dialectics is largely a vulgarised variation of the dogmatic constructions widespread at the time of the Stalin cult. In those years, Mao Tse-tung's works, too, were as a rule blindly accepted by many Marxist theorists (including ourselves, Soviet philosophers), especially since practice had not yet sufficiently revealed the consequences implicit in his concepts.

As long ago as 1938, at the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Mao Tse-tung declared: "The Chinese Communists are Marxist internationalists. But in its practical realisation Marxism must be expressed in national form . . . We are thus faced with the problem . . . of making Marxism Chinese, of seeing to it that it is in its every manifestation Chinese in character" (Mao Tse-tung, *At a New Stage*). After the victory of the Chinese revolution this task was apparently considered accomplished. In any case, in 1946 Liu Shao-chi said in an interview with Anna Louise Strong: "Mao Tse-tung's great accomplishment has been to change Marxism-Leninism from a European to an Asiatic form . . . He has created a Chinese or an Asiatic form of Marxism."

On the face of it, this seems to imply an adaptation of Marxism to specifically Chinese conditions. But we discover as we go on that the C.P.C. leaders claim to have climbed a new rung in philosophy. Are their claims justified? No, we think they are not.

In his philosophical writings Mao Tse-tung borrows any number of propositions from the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Wherever he sets out Marxist-Leninist ideas, or where he builds on them directly, he is not only right, but mostly quite interesting to read. But the notions presented as "Mao Tse-tung's own contribution to Marxism" inevitably rouse strong objections. To begin with, his philosophical works are not integral. In many ways they are eclectical. To paraphrase Mao Tse-tung's own expression, his dialectics might be conditionally described as "Sinified dialectics". It is an *ersatz* dialectics, a vulgarised quasi-dialectics.

It should be noted that Mao Tse-tung has confessed that he had not studied Marxism too diligently. Thus, in 1957 he said: "At first I held various non-Marxist views; I accepted Marxism only later on. I studied Marxism a little from books and made my first steps in ideological self-reformation. But this self-reformation took place mainly in the course of the long class struggle" (Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*). Moreover, it should be borne in mind that Mao Tse-tung took many of his philosophical propositions from Stalin's dogma.

A prominent place in "Sinified dialectics" is held, as Mao tells us, by the heritage of ancient Chinese philosophy. Mao's admirers tell us that he was able to enrich Marxism because he "took over the best traditions of Chinese philosophy" (Hou Wai-lu, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*). Naturally no Marxist would object to a critical re-working and taking over of China's theoretical heritage. But the point is that, in effect, this heritage has never been re-worked from a Marxist standpoint; it was simply incorporated into "Sinified dialectics" as a component part and one of its sources. The ossified tentacles of this heritage, dating

back to antiquity, are strangling scientific dialectics, taking it backwards from Marxism to hoary abstractions, legend and myth.

As a result, there are in Sinified dialectics two seemingly contradictory but actually mutually determined distortions:

First, extreme abstraction of dialectical categories and stretching of the dialectical flexibility of concepts to the extreme of sophistry. Abstract concepts are then used to explain specific phenomena and events, by-passing all intermediate links and ignoring the sum total of the concrete historical conditions.

Second, a utilitarian-pragmatic and instrumentalist approach to dialectics, which turns into a kind of universal master key and is considered the most convenient means of explaining, or, to be more exact, of justifying, every possible action. Dialectics is made the handmaiden of every possible political objective, and therefore sheds its objective, scientific character, and becomes subjectivist.

For all this, the C.P.C. leaders minister to the personality cult and go out of their way to advertise Mao Tse-tung's incorrect interpretation of dialectics, especially his concept of contradictions, as the universal method of cognition applicable to all conditions and all countries. So the problem of "Sinified dialectics" has turned from a national into an international one.

Dialectics and Sophistry on the Nature of Contradictions

According to Marxist dialectics, the interaction of contradictory sides, the "struggle" of opposites, determines the content of all processes and, in the ultimate, comprises the source of self-propulsion, the inner impulse of the development of the objective world as a whole and of its component parts.

But to confine oneself merely to recording the universality and endlessness of contradictions is not enough by far for the cognition of objective reality. To be scientific, as Lenin noted, cognition calls for *objectivity* in examining events (examining the essence of processes rather than specific examples); establishing the *totality* of the variegated relationships between one event and others; study of the development of events as their *self-propulsion;* establishment of *contradictory* aspects and tendencies; *analysis* of aspects and tendencies; extension of man's *knowledge of the essence of things* by going from the phenomenon to the essence and from less deep essence to deeper essence, etc.

To apprehend the objective world one must know the laws of its movement and of the movement of its component parts. Cognitive thought must examine all this in a definite interrelation. "A river and the *drops* in this river," wrote Lenin, "the position of *every* drop, its relation to the others; its connection with the others; the direction of its movement; its speed; the line of the movement—straight, curved, circular, etc.—upwards, downwards. The sum of the movement." Developing this idea, he wrote: "The *totality of all* sides of the phenomenon, of reality and their (reciprocal) *relations*—that is what truth is composed of" (*Philosophical Notebooks*).

These demands of dialectical cognition have an immediate bearing on contemporary social processes. The differentiation of processes, the appearance of new and smaller streams, currents and brooks from the general stream confirm that social life is inexhaustible and, consequently, the laws of its development are infinite. This presupposes concrete and differentiated analysis of processes, phenomena and events, deeper knowledge of the objective contradictions, diagnosis of their interrelation, determination of their place in the general stream of history. It presupposes differentiating between the contradictions, specifying their types, but bearing in mind that all specification is relative, mutable and conditional.

Among all the links and relations in society, we find in the foreground the objectively necessary, historically inevitable and law-governed contradictions expressing the essence of phenomena and processes. This applies to the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the basis and the super-structure, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, economics and politics, production and consumption, individual and society, etc. The law-governed interaction of opposites (i.e., their unity and their differences, the "struggle" between them, and resolution of the contradiction) constitutes the essence of social processes and, in the ultimate, the source of social progress. Among these contradictions dialectics singles out the basic and leading contradiction in every process, the one that constitutes its main motive force.

But among these essential contradictions some are not universal, despite their playing a big role in social development. They are, as it were, secondary, or derivative, in relation to the historically necessary basic contradictions. Often, they are either inherited from the past,

or are the result of the intertwining of several historically-conditioned tendencies. These contradictions cannot be conclusively resolved by themselves; their resolution will depend on the resolution of the first type of basic contradictions, which are behind them, such, for example, as the contradiction between town and country, physical and mental labour, national and universal interests, between generations, and also between various sections of the working class, the various groups of the intelligentsia, and the peasantry, which take place under capitalism and which may, in a qualitatively new way, remain also under socialism. This enumeration alone is enough to show that there are more important contradictions among them, and less important ones. As we see, differentiation exists in this group of contradictions as well. Hence, only all-round and concrete analysis will determine the socio-historical significance of every contradiction and help to decide how to treat the particular contradiction in revolutionary practice.

In society we find also a large number of contradictions which do not refer to the substance of the reflected historical process. Such contradictions have their roots in history, but the immediate cause of their origin, as a rule, is temporary violation of the objective laws by the subjective factor, violation of social laws, neglect of these laws, inadequate knowledge of them, or miscalculations and mistakes made by leaders.

A fairly good example of a contradiction of this kind is the incompatibility of the personality cult and the democratic essence of the socialist system. There is also the incompatibility of the subjectivist methods of economic management at the time of the personality cult and the objective demands of the economy, violation of the principle of incentives, etc. The same could be said about the contradiction in China between the "big leap" policy, the people's communes, and the objective demands of socialist production.

These contradictions are usually acute and may even develop into contradictions of the first type, such as the contradiction between economics and politics. But they do not necessarily arise from the socialist mode of production, and have no relation to its essence. On the contrary, they come into collision with it, and put a brake on the development of the productive forces and social relations. The very origin of these contradictions, and their extremely painful nature, give rise to the problem of preventing them, or of overcoming and eliminating them as quickly as possible.

The difference between the philosophical and the everyday concept, which espies contradiction in every possible disparity, difference, disagreement, dispute, and quarrel, should always be borne in mind. In other words, contradictions have to be approached scientifically. There can be no sophistic playing around with them, no formal alignment of heterogeneous phenomena.

In Mao Tse-tung's writings all contradictions are lumped together, their specific features are overlooked, and this despite the many appeals he makes to examine contradictions in their motion and particularity. Time and again, Mao Tse-tung has quoted Lenin on the concreteness of truth. What is more, he has attacked dogmatists, who, he said, turn the thesis on the universality of contradictions into a lifeless formula which, they claim, is applicable to all concrete contradictions. But Mao Tse-tung does not himself live up to Lenin's advice, nor do his companions, who eulogise Mao Tse-tung's propositions and, in most cases, make them still more vulgar. The Chinese theorists concentrate chiefly on abstract schematic constructions, such as "without life, there would be no death; without death, there would also be no life. Without 'above', there would be no 'below'; without 'below' there would also be no 'above'. Without misfortune, there would be no good fortune; without good fortune there would also be no misfortune. Without easiness, there would be no difficulty" (Mao Tse-tung, *On Contradiction*).

Mao's disciples, who delight in these constructions, are "multiplying" them: "There is no need for leisure if there is no work, while work without leisure is inconceivable; there is no good without evil, no beautiful without the ugly, and vice versa, no darkness without light; day is followed by night, defeat by victory, etc." (Ai Sy-tsi, *Lectures on Dialectical Materialism*). This word-play may have made sense 2,500 years ago, when it marked a step forward in the cognition of the world. But after Hegel, Marx, Engels and Lenin it sounds elementary, and, naturally, has little practical significance for studying the many-sided and intricate realities of today. "Any abstract truth," Lenin said, "applied without an analysis becomes a meaningless platitude".

Lenin in his day criticised Plekhanov for reducing dialectics to a sum of examples. But at least most of them were legitimate ones. As regards Mao Tse-tung, he, as a rule, reduces dialectics to a *sum* of accidental examples. He tries to accentuate the importance of deep study of the particularity of contradiction, but does it, of all things, by referring to antiquity.

Sing Chiang, hero of *Water Margin*, a Chinese novel, he writes, "launched three attacks on Chu village and was twice defeated because he had no clear knowledge of the conditions and applied the wrong methods, Later he changed his methods and started by investigating the situation: thus he learnt about the intertwining roads; disrupted the alliance between the Li, Hu and Chu villages . . . secretly infiltrated his own soldiers in disguise into the enemy's camp, and won victory on the third occasion. There are numerous examples of materialist dialectics in *Water Margin*, and the episode of the three attacks on Chu village can be considered the best" (*On Contradiction*). Far be it from us to deny the literary merits of the ancient Chinese novel, but we cannot agree that an ambush in the camp of the enemy is a specific manifestation of the universality of dialectical contradictions.

To sum up, the propositions of dialectics as interpreted by Mao Tse-tung are universal, but their substantiation is based on particular and fortuitous examples, on an empirical registration of individual phenomena.

Mao Tse-tung's followers have adopted his approach completely. What is more, they go even further. In his lectures Ai Sy-tsi lumps together all contradictions—essential and non-essential, law-governed and accidental; he construes such contradictions as those between inland and coastal industry; between industry, agriculture, trade and transport; between the economy and national defence; between economic growth and culture, and so on. They are brought up without any reservation of particularity. It may be that there really are interconnections of this order in China, but that is hardly a valid reason to define them as universal dialectical contradictions. A real "gem" is Ai Sy-tsi's example of a contradiction between the right leg and the left leg, since they are interdependent in walking and move in turn.

The untenability of abstract antinomies becomes even more evident when extended to actual social relations. Mao Tse-tung builds up a chain of abstract and schematised contrasts in the sphere of class relations. He writes: "Without landlords there would be no tenant peasants; without tenant peasants there would be no landlords. Without the bourgeoisie there would be no proletariat, without the proletariat there would also be no bourgeoisie. Without imperialist oppression of the nations there would be no colonies and semi-colonies, without colonies and semi-colonies there would also be no imperialist oppression of the nations" (*On Contradiction*). Do these propositions add to our knowledge of class society? Hardly. Do they help us in political practice? I don't think so, because their universality, not coupled with a thorough analysis of the facts, changes into abstract sterility.

This juggling around with dialectics can go on *ad infinitum*. Even if we string together a chain of thousands or tens of thousands of such polarities, we shall not make a step of progress in cognition, and will never get below the surface of things. Engels put it very well. "One no longer permits oneself," he wrote, "to be imposed upon by the antithesis, insuperable for the still common old metaphysics, between true and false, good and bad, identical and different, necessary and accidental" (F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*).

But that is just what Sinified dialectics dabbles in. First it creates extremely abstract and lifeless truths and then tries to bring them into line with reality as self-contained and omnipotent; arbitrarily and subjectively it fits the real contradictions into a narrow schematisation, destroying their concrete and ever-new texture and violating reality. The conclusion is self-evident. When it is proclaimed that any connection, any interaction between objects or phenomena is a dialectical contradiction, then all partial and casual contradictions will be elevated to the plane of law-governed contradictions and, conversely, the universal, law-governed contradictions will be seen as casual, with the result that the science of dialectics becomes something like a mirage. Free rein is given to voluntarism and the construction of all kinds of contradictions to suit anybody's political whim, to suit anybody's taste and will. Subjectivism triumphs.

A creative Marxist knows what power there is in flexibility of concepts. Flexibility, properly understood, enables us to see things in their movement, to discern the barely discernible tendencies, tendencies with a future, to find the transitions, the various shades, in the development of processes, etc. It is flexibility of concept, used objectively, that gives us dialectics. But used subjectively, as the C.P.C. leaders do, it becomes mere sophistry.

Mao Tse-tung's philosophical reflections are peculiar to say the least. So are those of his colleagues. At first they formulate the general propositions of Marxist theory, and, as such, their formulations are fundamentally sound, though somewhat schematic. In the first phase they thereby produce an extreme abstraction of theoretical propositions. At this point, however, Marxist terminology and Marxist reasoning are still intact. The gullible reader is likely to get the impression that they are loyal to Marxism.

Antagonistic contradictions are irreconcilable conflicts between the social interests of classes hostile to one another in a society founded on exploitation, such as the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which in the final analysis is resolved by the abolition of the bourgeoisie as a class. Under socialism contradictions between workers and peasants, or between mental and manual workers, are a "struggle" in name only. Actually this "struggle" involves mutual aid as a means of tapping the latent potential of each social group with a view to eventually removing the given social and class contradiction and arriving at a classless community. In the process that which separates the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals is abolished step by step, while the features and aspects common to all assert themselves more and more.

In the case of non-antagonistic contradictions, then, unity occupies a different place and plays a different role. It comes to the fore as the most progressive form of resolving urgent non-antagonistic contradictions; moreover, such solution of contradictions does not undermine unity but promotes it on a new basis. Hence under socialism struggle to strengthen the unity of the opposites involved in the non-antagonistic contradictions is the paramount political task. This explains the effort invested in the socialist world to cement the unity of the Party and the people, the unity (friendship) of nations, of the socialist countries, etc.

The Soviet people have accomplished much in the struggle for social unity. The bourgeoisie as a class has been abolished. All the other classes and sections of society are socialist in nature and are continuing to draw closer together. It is on this basis that the State in the U.S.S.R. became the State of the entire people and the C.P.S.U. the Party of the entire people.

This triumph of unity is not to the taste of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who regard it as an instance of revisionism, something to be combated. Chou Yang, Vice-Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, C.P.C., declared: "The modern revisionists have formulated a theory about the *merging or reconciliation of contradictions*, in order to provide a philosophical basis for their fallacies concerning 'a State of the whole people' and 'a party of the entire people'." (My italics—A.S.) Evidently, the Chinese leaders are displeased that in the U.S.S.R. the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia are drawing closer. But would it be preferable to see the distinctions between them deepen and the contradictions grow more acute? Only from the standpoint of pseudo-dialectics, not from that of Marxist dialectics.

This pseudo-dialectics ignores the fundamental distinction between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. In effect it attributes many of the features of antagonistic contradictions to the non-antagonistic.

The concept that struggle between opposites is absolute and their unity relative is fundamental to Marxist philosophy. Mao Tse-tung, however, transmutes this concept into a sophism divorced from life: "Such unity, solidarity, amalgamation, harmony, balance, stalemate, deadlock, rest, stability, equilibrium, coagulation, attraction, as we see in daily life," he writes, "are all the appearances of things in a state of quantitative change. On the other hand, the disassociation of the entity, the breakdown of such solidarity, amalgamation, harmony, balance, stalemate, deadlock, rest, stability, equilibrium, coagulation, and attraction, and the change into their opposite states are all the appearances of things in the state of qualitative change . . ." (*On Contradiction*). But Marxism has never identified unity, solidarity, amalgamation, harmony and balance with deadlock, rest and stalemate. Nor can one agree with Mao when he omits to mention the role of unity in qualitative change, in social progress, since his logic in effect ascribes to unity what is only a conservative role. For the Chinese leaders, then, unity means only stagnation and the struggle of opposites alone means progress. This leads to far-reaching political conclusions and actions.

If unity is deadlock and the struggle of opposites the only motive force, as vulgar dialectics assumes, it would appear that the decisive element in Party life, too, is struggle between Communists, that the unity of the world Communist movement must necessarily be destroyed, that success can be achieved only through split, through struggle between factions of Communists, and that there is every justification for the disruptive actions of the Chinese leaders who are now undermining the unity of the Communist parties according to the formula: "Unity, struggle or even splits, and a new unity on a new basis—such is the dialectics of the development of the international working-class movement" (Seventh article in *Jenminjihpao* and *Hungchi*).

Strictly speaking this disruptive postulate is by no means a new one, and the pseudo-dialectical argumentation is designed merely to justify it ideologically. "Everything tends to divide itself in two," Chou Yang said. "Theories are no exception, and they also tend to divide. Wherever there is a revolutionary, scientific doctrine, *its antithesis, a counter-revolu-*

tionary, anti-scientific doctrine, is bound to rise in the course of the development of that doctrine" (My italics—*A.S.*). What Chou Yang's statement about the inevitable emergence of a counter-revolutionary trend implies can be seen from the doctrine concerning the transformation of social antagonisms into non-antagonistic contradictions and vice versa. "Based on the concrete development of things, some contradictions, originally non-antagonistic, develop and become antagonistic, while some contradictions, originally antagonistic, develop and become non-antagonistic", Mao Tse-tung says (*On Contradiction*).

What arguments are adduced to prove this? The sole criterion is the soundness or unsoundness of the policy pursued: "The contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie are in themselves antagonistic. However, in the concrete conditions of our country, if the antagonistic contradictions between these two classes are properly regulated they can become non-antagonistic, and can be resolved peacefully. If we do not regulate them properly, do not pursue in relation to the national bourgeoisie a policy of unifying them, of criticism and education, or if the national bourgeoisie rejects our policy, then the contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie can become contradictions between us and our enemies" (Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*).

Here we have a clear case of subjectivism. In other words, it is not the nature of the contradictions that determines the method of resolving them, but, on the contrary, it is the method of resolving them, the method of political action, that determines the nature of the contradictions. But the fact remains that the contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie have always been and will continue to be antagonistic. The method used to solve them, be it peaceful or non-peaceful, does not determine the character of the contradictions or their social content, but merely the form of resolving them. The question of the time element and the ways and means of resolving these contradictions are determined by the concrete situation prevailing in each country. Experience shows that the national bourgeoisie can go a long way with the people even after the conquest of power, that acceptable forms can be found for its participation in building the new society.

It should be noted that the thesis about non-antagonistic contradictions becoming antagonistic is extended by Mao to inner-Party relations. He maintains that if in the course of an inner-Party struggle a section of the Party insists on its views and does not agree with the other section, the non-antagonistic contradictions become antagonistic. ". . . If those people who have committed mistakes," he writes, "persist in them and increase the gravity of their mistakes, then there is the possibility of such contradictions developing into antagonism" (*On Contradiction*). And when this happens they are resolved, in the opinion of the Chinese leaders, as contradictions with "enemies of the people", which implies that all methods and means, including violence, are permissible.

In keeping with this concept, the leaders of the Communist Party of China have embarked on splitting activity in other Communist parties. And inasmuch as they hold that differences inside the parties, unless they end in the defeat of one side, become antagonistic contradictions, the Chinese leaders are bent on destroying unity. They applaud the formation of factionalist groups in various countries and proclaim them to be "Marxist-Leninist parties" while the genuine Communist parties are labelled "revisionist". Some of these "new parties" have no more than five or ten members, but all have ample funds at their disposal and are conducting disruptive activity. The leaders of the C.P.C. insist that these groups be recognised as parties. For instance, in their letter to the C.C., C.P.S.U. they declare: "In Australia there is a party represented by E. Hill and a party represented by L. Sharkey. The first is a Marxist-Leninist party and the second a revisionist party. A similar situation exists in Brazil."

If one were to accept the postulate of vulgar dialectics that unity is conservative, it would be the duty of every political worker to undermine it and to implant contradictions by all means at his disposal. This is the attitude the Chinese leaders have adopted vis-a-vis the socialist system. Flouting the Marxist concept of mutual aid in building socialism, they have put forward the autarchic idea of relying exclusively on one's own resources, which tends to weaken the unity of the socialist countries. Hence also the attempts made by the Chinese leaders to sow dissension in the international democratic organisations (the trade unions, women's, youth and other organisations).

All this explains the C.P.C. leaders' political intrigues, their polemical methods, and the slanderous accusations they have levelled at the majority of the Communist parties. Their logic is simple: either the world Communist movement subscribes to the concepts of the Chinese leaders or the struggle within this movement becomes an antagonism. In the latter event, the Chinese leaders hold, it is permissible to use any method and take any action against

the general line of the world Communist movement. Clearly, this is no longer dialectics but political blackmail pure and simple.

Contradictions and Social Practice

The Communist movement, then, is confronted with an understanding of dialectics differing from the scientific, Marxist-Leninist understanding, namely, the abstract-subjectivist Mao-ist understanding. The difference is not an academic, theoretical one. These two lines in philosophy reflect *two political concepts* in the world Communist movement, two different views on issues of concern to all—the issue of peace, war, revolution and the building of socialism and communism. One is the Marxist concept, the other, a dogmatic, neo-Trotskyite, nationalistic concept.

The Achilles' heel of "Sinified dialectics" is isolation from reality, its fear of life, of the real contradictions confronting humanity. Its abstract scheme of contradictions wholly corresponds to abstract concepts concerning the development of the world revolutionary process.

Let us turn first of all to the basic contradiction of our time. After a profound analysis of the situation the Communist and Workers' parties arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the basic contradiction is that between the two worlds—socialist and capitalist. This conclusion follows from the fact that the struggle between the two worlds determines the main trend of development of human society and reflects the balance of class forces on the world arena and in the particular countries. All the other contradictions are influenced by this basic contradiction. This struggle between socialism and capitalism will, ultimately, determine the destiny of mankind.

The Chinese leaders, however, have gone to great pains in an effort to prove that the main contradiction today is that between the formerly and still oppressed countries and imperialism. What prompted the men in the C.C., C.P.C. to advance this idea? According to the precepts of Marxist dialectics, which Mao himself quotes, the basic contradiction is that which determines the main trend of development. The question is: Can the urgent tasks of the social emancipation of the whole of humanity be accomplished through winning national independence alone?

The documents of the Communist parties point out that the world revolutionary process combines in an organic whole the three great movements of our time: the struggle of the socialist countries against world capitalism, the revolutionary action of the working class in the developed capitalist countries and the struggle of the peoples of the oppressed and newly emergent countries against imperialism. Imperialism can be overcome only through the combined efforts of the three revolutionary streams. The concept of the Chinese leaders, however, splits these forces and weakens the common drive against imperialism.

The Chinese leaders' concept regarding the question of war and peace is every bit as schematic. Taking into account the increased might of world socialism, the powerful peace movement, the destructiveness of nuclear weapons and the diverging views on world war that this has given rise to among the ruling classes of the capitalist countries, the Communist parties advanced the idea of the *necessity and possibility of preventing a thermonuclear world war*. In doing so they set an example of thorough research, concrete deduction, purposeful action, creatively combining dialectics and politics.

The Chinese leaders, however, make wide use in this connection of abstract opposites: peace is followed by war, war by peace; good is followed by evil, evil by good. ". . . In certain conditions," writes Mao Tse-tung, "evil can lead to good results, while good in its turn may be superseded by bad results. More than two thousand years ago Lao-tse said 'Misfortune contains within itself good fortune, good fortune contains the seeds of misfortune'." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) These abstract logical constructions are translated into the language of practice, as we see from Mao Tse-tung's reflections on the question of war, approximately as follows: If the imperialists start a war we will have nothing to fear. True, war will bring appalling misfortune, probably 900 million people will perish. But "misfortune contains within itself good fortune"—imperialism. too, will be destroyed, and a new civilisation will arise on its ruins. That will be good. New generations will replace the 900 million who perished.

Comment on this incredible statement would be superfluous. But it prompts the question: Did Mao bother to ask any of the 900 million people whether they wanted to die, whether they agreed to become the manure of history to fertilise the soil for a new civilisation? Are there no other ways and means for achieving the victory of a new civilisation, ways and means which would not involve so heavy a price?

Further, let us consider some problems relating to the development of the world revolutionary process. Today the revolution in any particular country unfolds against the background of the growth of world socialism, the weakening of world capitalism and the struggle of the peoples of the newly free states; it forges ahead in the conditions of peaceful coexistence and normal business activity in the developed capitalist countries, at a time when the working class has won quite a few social gains; though the proletariat is better organised, it is confronted with an increasingly cunning and flexible bourgeoisie; it takes place in highly specific national settings compounded of the most diverse alignments of class forces and parties, national peculiarities and historical tendencies. This explains why the laws of revolution operate differently in, say, Britain and Italy, Sweden and Venezuela, Indonesia and India, etc. The Communist parties in the capitalist world display increasingly higher political and theoretical maturity and define the perspectives of the developing revolution and the forms and methods of struggle with a keen sense of responsibility. They are truly heeding Lenin's wise counsel and engaging in *concrete analysis of the concrete situation.*

But the Chinese leaders have forsaken that counsel, they have forsaken Lenin's point that the phenomenon is richer than the law. In one of their latest statements they summed up the revolutionary struggle of the peoples as they see it and drew conclusions which they regard as being fundamental. What are these conclusions?

"Firstly, violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution. To realise the transition to socialism, the proletariat must wage armed struggle (here armed struggle is identified with revolutionary coercion generally—*A.S.*), smash the old state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Eighth article in *Jenminjihpao* and *Hungchi*). Further, the article goes on to say that the working class must struggle against capitalism, while the people of the oppressed countries should struggle against imperialism, that the alliance of the workers and peasants should be strengthened and that the struggle for immediate interests should be combined with the struggle for the ultimate goals, that this struggle in the capitalist countries should be led by the proletarian parties, etc.

The phraseology is radical enough, yet the most important thing is lacking, namely, a concrete programme of action, a realistic exposition of how to prepare for revolution in the concrete conditions of a particular country, and how to lead it. It stands to reason that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie must be resolved. That is indisputable. The question is *how* to resolve it. For revolutionary coercion is not simply a matter of armed struggle, of civil war. The question is how to win over the masses in the conditions of high business activity, how to achieve the unity of the working class, how to build up the anti-monopoly front, how to speed up the maturing of the revolutionary situation, how to take over power in the most painless way. To all these questions the documents of the C.P.C. give only one answer: armed struggle. With astonishing obduracy they thereby reject the Leninist idea that the transition to socialism can be accomplished in a variety of forms.

One form is the peaceful transition, and this peaceful transition itself is multifarious. In some cases it may take place in the shape of mass political action accompanied by political strikes and demonstrations; in others, the struggle for power may develop within the framework of parliamentary measures necessarily backed by mass movements; in still others we may have direct control by the masses over the machinery of State, followed by the transfer of power into the hands of the people; or else an uninterrupted onslaught of broad sections of the population on the monopoly bourgeoisie, a regrouping of forces, a steady weakening of the positions of the ruling classes and, ultimately, their removal from power. But the most unexpected combinations of these forms are also possible.

In a number of countries power will no doubt have to be won through armed struggle. But here too we will encounter a variety of forms and methods of advancing the revolution: in some countries a general armed uprising which will carry with it the overwhelming majority of the population is possible; in others guerilla warfare developing into civil war; in some, a lightning military coup by the revolutionary forces with the army playing a prominent role, in others, action to defeat foreign military intervention. There may also be an intertwining of all these forms. And, lastly, combinations of peaceful and non-peaceful forms and vice versa, are not excluded.

The dialectical method is especially important for understanding abrupt turns in history. Lenin always used it in analysing rapidly changing situations, when all the pros and cons had to be taken into account as well as the totality of social relations at the given moment. Lenin taught the Communists always to generalise the available world experience dialectically: "The greatest danger, perhaps the only danger, that confronts a genuine revolutionary is exaggeration of revolutionariness, forgetting the limits and conditions in which revolu-

tionary methods are appropriate and can be successfully employed. Genuine revolutionaries have most often broken their necks when they began to write 'revolution' with a capital R, to elevate 'revolution' to something almost divine, to lose their heads, to lose the ability in the coolest and most sober manner to reflect, weigh up and ascertain at what moment, under what circumstances and in which sphere of action it is necessary to act in a revolutionary manner, and when it is necessary to adopt reformist action. Genuine revolutionaries will perish (not that they will be defeated from outside, but that their internal affairs will collapse) only if—and they certainly will, if they do—they lose their sobriety of outlook and take it into their heads that 'the great, victorious, world' revolution can and must solve all problems in a revolutionary manner under all circumstances and in all spheres of action" (V. I. Lenin. *The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism*).

This is the truly dialectical approach to the question. Analysis of the rapidly changing situation provides a scientific foundation for flexible tactics, for correct relations with allies, the ability to advance and to retreat, to seize the initiative and impose on the enemy the class battles in the most advantageous situation and in the most favourable areas of class struggle.

Further, there is no doubt that it is of immense historical importance to resolve as soon and as completely as possible the contradiction between the peoples of the oppressed and newly emerging states, on the one hand, and imperialism, on the other. The question is, however, if one approaches the question practically and not demagogically, one of concretely defining the ways and means of resolving this contradiction, and these ways and means are determined by the concrete historical situation. Some countries still have to win political sovereignty, some lack economic independence, some have taken the non-capitalist way but are experiencing difficulties; in others the domestic reactionaries hold the upper hand, and so on.

For all these complex problems the C.P.C. leaders have only one solution—armed struggle. It does not matter to them that the enemy is strong, and the masses are not ready for the struggle. For this, too, pseudo-dialectics has its own recipe. "The more people the reactionaries kill," said Mao Tse-tung in 1945, "the greater the revolutionary strength and the nearer the end of the reactionaries. This is an immutable law" ("Comrade Mao Tse-tung: Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers"). In the opinion of Chinese philosophers the dialectics in this case is: the greater the number of revolutionaries that are killed the more wrathful and vengeful the survivors will be, their resistance will be greater and the more vigorously will they fight the imperialists. And in the final analysis they will triumph. In this way, defeat evolves into victory, the dialectical contradiction is resolved and evil becomes good.

Many other aspects of this subject might be examined, but all of them show that such pseudo-dialectics signify a departure from Marxism and a break with revolutionary practice. Abstract schemes do not help the revolution; they hamper it.

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The philosophical concepts and the practical political actions of the Chinese leaders are, then, definitely interconnected. In the sphere of philosophy they are concentrating on exacerbating contradictions and inventing contradictions where they do not exist. In the political sphere the emphasis is placed on aggravating relations between friendly classes, nations, states, social groups, parties, etc. Instead of a policy of peaceful coexistence, the idea is advanced that international tension is a "blessing". In the sphere of revolutionary struggle, the emphasis is on armed action, while the peaceful forms of the development of the revolution are ignored or underestimated. As regards intra-Party relations the necessity of factional struggle is preached, while splits in the revolutionary movement are said to be inevitable. All this indicates that the Chinese leaders have adopted pseudo-dialectics as an instrument for their erroneous political aims.

An examination of the philosophical and political aspects of the question of the universal character of contradictions and the concreteness of truth clearly shows that Mao Tse-tung's pseudo-dialectics cannot serve as a methodological weapon of revolutionary action. Owing to its extreme subjectivism and mechanistic nature it can only serve as the methodological basis of voluntarism in politics, of adventurism in practical activity. The political activities of the fraternal parties—both those in power and those working to win power—are founded on Marxist-Leninist dialectics, study and development of which is an indispensable condition for a creative solution of the urgent tasks of socialist reconstruction of society, for the worldwide triumph of Communism.

Activities of the Communist and Workers' Parties

For the Unity of the World Communist Movement

Documents of the Marxist-Leninist Parties

THE leaders of the Communist Party of China have intensified their actions aimed at splitting the international Communist movement. Whereas previously they proclaimed their loyalty to the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the 81 parties, they now oppose them, saying that they should be revised. Whereas in the past they formally recognised the need for unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement, they now invoke "theory" to justify the inevitability of a split, they are actively campaigning for this split, carrying on undermining activity in the world Communist movement, brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of other Marxist-Leninist parties, and working to create, either in them or parallel with them, anti-Party groups and groups with pro-Chinese leanings.

Faced with these circumstances the Communist and Workers' parties are calling for effective measures to help avert a split, to reinforce the unity and cohesion of Communists everywhere on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Political Bureau of the *French Communist Party* issued a statement on April 10, in which it noted that ". . . the leaders of the Communist Party of China are departing more and more from the principles jointly elaborated by the fraternal parties at the 1957 and 1960 meetings. Not only do they refuse to support the proposal to terminate the public debate, they are levelling violent attacks against the policy and leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, against our own Party and against the majority of the fraternal parties. They are organising groups hostile to the Communist parties in different countries, including parties which are working in the difficult conditions of illegality, thereby playing into the hands of imperialism."

Stressing the importance of the proposal made by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to convene another conference of all the Communist and Workers' Parties at the earliest possible date, the Political Bureau considers it necessary "to reaffirm at this conference, in the light of developments since 1960, the general line of the movement and to take the necessary measures to preserve its unity".

The *Communist parties of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan* issued a joint statement in which they say that Arab Communists, guided by the sense of responsibility for the unity of the world Communist movement, share the concern and distress of the fraternal parties; they express their indignation over the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders, and condemn these activities.

Rejecting the Chinese concept of the national-liberation movement, which counterposes this movement to the socialist system and to the international working class, the statement points out that in practice this theory is injurious to the national-liberation movement, that it would isolate the movement from its most reliable bulwark—the socialist world camp.

The embattled peoples, the statement continues, see in the socialist system, and primarily the Soviet Union, their staunch ally. The experience of the Arab national-liberation movement and the struggle of our peoples bear this out. This experience emphatically refutes the "theory" of the Chinese leaders.

The Arab people, the statement goes on, utterly reject the "theory" of the Chinese leaders on the so-called intermediate, or neutral, zone by which they understand, in particular, West Germany, Britain, France and other countries. This "theory", clearly, is designed to lull the vigilance of the peoples *vis-à-vis* West German, British and French colonialism, in both its new and old forms."

The Arab Communists point out that the Chinese leaders are using the argument of the "inevitability of a split" to justify the creation of a splinter centre in the world Communist movement, to justify their factionalist and subversive activities in the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The statement stresses the need "for an international meeting of all the parties to discuss the situation in the world Communist movement and take effective measures to strengthen its unity and foil the efforts aimed at splitting it".

Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the *Ceylon Communist Party*, addressing the Seventh Congress of the Party held in April, said: "Our Seventh Congress soon after the Party had successfully emerged from the sharp struggle waged in the Party and in the working-class movement against the unprincipled anti-Party group of splitters and renegades headed by Sanmugathasan and Kumarasiri who (and we say this with deep regret) were inadmissibly supported and encouraged by the leadership of the Communist Party of China."

"Our Party," Comrade Keuneman went on, "has its own experience of the close and intimate connection between the Chinese 'theories' and the practical attempts to split our own Party and to sabotage the United Left Front. We know very well how the special views of the Chinese comrades were used by the anti-Party Sanmugathasan clique as a banner in their struggle to split our Party and oppose the United Left Front. We know how the anti-unity elements in other Left parties also made those 'theories' their banner. We know the tremendous material, political and other support that the Chinese leaders have rendered these splitters at every stage of their campaign.

"We must tell the Chinese propagandists that it is the members of the Ceylon Communist Party and not anyone in Peking or elsewhere who decide what is the Seventh Congress and who are the leaders and members of our Party. Let us say this straight and let there be no mistake about it. The Communists of Ceylon have never accepted and will never accept the imperialist thesis about 'two Chinas'. Likewise we do not accept and will never accept the Peking thesis about two Communist parties in Ceylon. The fight against the splitters and those who support them is not over. The splitters are kept alive by the massive support that they receive from the C.P.C. leaders and sections of reaction. They can, therefore, still do damage.

"The Congress resolution approved and supported the struggle launched by the Central Committee to lay bare the true character of the group opposing the Party and the United Left Front and to rally against it the Party, the workers and the people generally. This struggle will help to rid the Party of opportunist elements, it will strengthen the bonds between the Party and the working people and draw the latter into active struggle for the political line of the Party and the United Left Front."

The Congress called for a meeting of the fraternal parties as early as possible.

A statement issued by the Executive Committee of the *Communist Party of Ecuador* points out that the charges which the Chinese comrades have hurled against the C.P.S.U. and its leaders are utterly groundless and absolutely at variance with revolutionary experience. We Ecuador Communists, workers and peasants, students, young revolutionaries and intellectuals—all progressive people of Ecuador—the statement goes on, know from experience that those who claim to be following the "Chinese line" have made a fetish of the word "revolution", have indulged in ultra-Left phraseology, have advocated individual terror and have advanced as their sole programme the slogan "to the wall" while underestimating the significance of the strength of the masses and their struggle.

Immediately after the military fascist dictatorship was installed, the statement says, the Communist Party of Ecuador went underground and launched a struggle against it. Headway was made and the fight against the dictatorship was intensified. This struggle was based on the urgent needs of the working people and the public generally, on the demands for peace and democracy. This enabled the people to secure notable achievements.

In contrast to this, the moment the dictatorship was installed the factionalists and splitters, supporters of the "Chinese revolutionary line", concentrated on attacking the Party and slandering its leaders; efforts were made to seize Party leadership. In effect, they aided the military dictatorship in its struggle against the Party and became subordinate to the dictatorship, i.e., to imperialism and the domestic reactionaries who support it. Such are the lengths to which the "ultra-Lefts" and "ultra-revolutionaries" go in combating what they describe as the "soft line", and in prosecuting what they call the "revolutionary" Chinese line.

The Chinese leaders, the statement goes on, are implementing their "general line" aimed at dividing the world Communist movement. As regards our Party, we can say

that all the steps taken with a view to isolating our Party from the general line of the world Communist movement, all the manoeuvres aimed at beheading the Party and then seizing its leading bodies and, lastly, all the attempts to cause a split, have had the direct support of the Chinese comrades.

The Central Committee reaffirms the need for an early meeting of all the Communist and Workers' parties.

At a joint meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Committee of the *Italian Communist Party*, held at the end of April, a report "On the Unity of the International Working-Class and Communist Movement" was made by Palmiro Togliatti.

We Italian Communists, Togliatti said, declare that the campaign launched by the Chinese leaders against the Soviet Union, against its international, home and economic policy, against its leaders and especially against Comrade Khrushchov, is inadmissible, shameful and dangerous for the whole movement.

Speaking about the need to combat the C.P.C. leaders' errors, Comrade Togliatti stressed that it must be done in a way that sees the perspective of overcoming them, not in a way that would give rights of citizenship to a rigid and irreparable division and split. The idea of an international meeting of all the Communist parties with a view to examining all the problems that have arisen as a result of the Chinese attacks and reaffirming the general line, Togliatti said, is fully legitimate provided all parties concerned attend the meeting. What is needed is to see whether it will be the most suitable means of overcoming the differences, rebutting the schismatic attempts and, consequently, strengthening the unity and solidarity of our movement. Moreover, it is necessary to see what preparations should be made to ensure the attainment of these aims.

Togliatti spoke in favour of continuing the discussion, stressing that its discontinuation was out of the question in the present situation. The discussion should always have the character of objective argumentation, taking as its starting point the real state of affairs and avoiding summary and injurious qualification and, consequently, avoiding any exacerbation of the antagonisms. It would be a big achievement if the ideological differences were separated from inter-state differences.

Hence it is necessary, before the international meeting takes place, to carry out more concrete and more thorough preparatory work than that which preceded the 81 Party Meeting of 1960. Provision should be made for bilateral or multilateral meetings, for possible mediation, in order to determine more concretely those questions which could be examined with the hope of reaching agreement as well as those on which our differences seem to be insurmountable.

Our reservations concerning the results of such a meeting, Togliatti said, are explained by the desire to avoid the method of "excommunication" and by the apprehension that in the course of the discussion, which is bound to be of a general character, it will be extremely difficult to have a really successful and creative elaboration of our policy.

On behalf of the *Communist Party of the United States* Gus Hall issued a statement on the differences in the world Communist movement, which reads in part:

"The attempts of the leaders of the Communist Party of China to propagate their views over the heads of the leadership of the Communist and Workers' parties of the various countries have brought about a situation of division and confusion of serious proportions. It is the obligation of Marxists-Leninists to take all necessary measures consistent with principle to re-unify their ranks as speedily as possible.

"Therefore, it is our judgement that the earliest convocation of a conference of the representatives of each of the Marxist parties of the respective countries of the world, consistent with adequate preparation, be held to arrive at a consensus concerning the departures from the scientific line of Marxism-Leninism on matters of universal principle and for setting forth the required recommendations for effecting the necessary self-corrections and for the strengthening of the all-round unity of the international Communist movement, of the world working class, and of the fellowship of its respective national parties."

A statement by the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Argentina* on the splitting activity of the leaders of the Communist Party of China says that, although this activity injures the international Communist movement, the Chinese leaders will never succeed in attaining their disruptive ends. The most they have accomplished is

the adherence of some waverers, particularly from among the petty-bourgeoisie, uniting them with counter-revolutionaries expelled from the Communist parties and with representatives of the bourgeois-national intelligentsia and the Trotskyites.

"And although so far they have not been able to cause any damage to our Party and they rely solely on individuals expelled from our ranks, yet in the face of their growing disruptive activity it is necessary to be vigilant. At the same time our Party maintains that internationally it is necessary to carry on the struggle against this dangerous dogmatic and nationalist Trotsky type of deviation."

The statement concludes:

"Our Party deems it necessary to convene a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties in order to examine the present situation in the international Communist movement, discuss the general line with due regard to the changes in the international situation and on the basis of reaffirming the main principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement."

The Central Committee of the *Working People's Party of Vietnam* has addressed a letter to all Communist and Workers' parties proposing measures to overcome the differences and strengthen the solidarity and unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement.

"Like many other fraternal parties," the letter says, "we still believe that, should the differences be allowed to deepen and result in dividing the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, this would be a grave blow to the world revolutionary movement and would entail incalculable harmful consequences. That is why since January 1962, we have repeatedly proposed the convening of a conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties in order to resolve the differences and strengthen solidarity and unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

Saying that the gravity of the situation necessitates adequate preparatory work if the conference is to yield the desired results, the Vietnamese comrades propose that a two-stage preparation be conducted:

—first stage—resumption of negotiations between the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. with a view to achieving an agreed viewpoint and jointly to prepare points for discussion at a preliminary meeting of representatives of a number of parties;

—second stage—a preliminary meeting of representatives of a number of fraternal parties to discuss and duly prepare the documents for the conference of representatives of all the parties.

"The vitally important tasks with which we are confronted," the letter goes on, "demand that our parties act with the utmost clarity and caution. In any case, we should above all strive to preserve the solidarity and unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960.

"We, therefore, earnestly call on the fraternal parties, and primarily on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, to carry out adequate preparatory work for the meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties which would be able to resolve the differences and thus restore and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement."

A recent meeting of the National Council of the *Communist Party of India*, adopted a resolution which says that the Chinese leaders "are openly encouraging the organisation of rival Communist and Workers' parties in a number of countries, including ours, and are grossly interfering in the affairs of fraternal parties in an attempt to force their line on them.

"In the face of this serious situation in the world Communist movement, created by the unilateral actions of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, actions which threaten the solidarity and unity of the progressive forces of the peoples of the world, and above all, of their advanced detachment, the Communist and Workers' parties of various countries, and which only bring grist to the mill of imperialists and reactionaries, it is of the utmost importance to make a determined and united effort based on the broadest possible consultations among the fraternal parties to overcome these difficulties and re-forge the unity of the world Communist movement and to end all disruptive activities and polemics."

Having reaffirmed its former resolution calling for the early convening of a world

conference of Communist and Workers' parties, the National Council stressed that this conference is necessary to preserve the unity of the world Communist movement, to ensure the victory of the ideas of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960, which have advanced the cause of peace, of democracy, of the national independence of nations and of socialism.

A statement circulated by the *Communist Party of Salvador* on the differences between the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the international Communist movement says that the Chinese leaders have a sectarian line on the main issues of the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement. Had this line been followed by the other parties, the Communists would have been isolated from the progressive movement both on the national and the international plane. Such isolation would undoubtedly damage the leading and vanguard role of the Communist parties.

The statement calls for a meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties and expresses the full confidence that revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism will be defeated.

"We South Africans, like all fighters for African freedom," says the statement by the Executive Committee of the *South African Communist Party*, "are keenly conscious of the solidarity, the support, both moral and practical, rendered to our struggle by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We remember Suez; we remember Algeria; we remember the innumerable occasions when our cause has been championed by the socialist countries; we know of their unqualified backing for African freedom today. No African patriot will ever forget these things. The plain facts of history disprove any suggestion that the Soviet Union, or the policy of peaceful coexistence, or the demand for disarmament hamper or retard the national liberation of colonial or formerly colonial peoples.

"We are vigorously opposed to any 'theory' that a split and organisational cleavage in our movement are inevitable, necessary or 'healthy'. Such a theory would be welcomed only by the imperialists, and by confused elements, careerists and adventurers, Trotskyites and others who are always ready to seize on differences between serious revolutionaries in order to establish a platform for themselves.

"We would urge, with all due modesty that, on the basis of a preliminary understanding and on the basis of ending the public controversy, discussions be held between the leaders of the socialist countries as a means of preparing the way for a general discussion by the whole Communist movement. Without an understanding and discussion of this kind we do not think any useful purpose would be served by a big meeting of all the parties at present."

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the *Communist Party of Denmark* unanimously adopted a resolution which reads:

"We greatly regret that the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who have taken the public polemic far beyond any admissible limits, have now not only rejected the proposal for ending the polemic but have gone the length of intensifying it.

"They now oppose that which they only recently advocated. They attack the basic principles of the joint declarations, charge the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with allowing themselves to be dominated by 'capitalist forces' and are attempting to prove the inevitability of a split in the international Communist movement. Their actions are tantamount to a direct and unpardonable striving for a split."

In the present situation, the statement concludes, new and effective measures should be taken to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement. The Executive Committee of the C.P.D., favours the idea of a meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties and suggests that the necessary preparation be started as soon as possible.

A Conference of the *Communist Party of Norway*, after discussing the situation in the international Communist movement, unanimously adopted a resolution which reads:

"This National Conference is of the opinion that an international meeting can be valuable *only if* it results in restoring the unity of the world Communist movement on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, with due consideration for the sovereignty and equality of each party.

"The committee or committees to be formed should be able to work in an atmosphere of quiet during the time needed to find a positive solution. The committee should begin work as soon as possible.

"There must be confidence that the international meeting will have positive results

and that its outcome will be renewed struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism."

The resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the *Communist Party of Greece* at its meeting in April points out that "the anti-Marxist views and the growing disruptive activity of the leaders of the Communist Party of China create additional grave difficulties for our Party working in the conditions of illegality and for our democratic movement at the time when there should be still closer unity of the working class, the people and all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle to ensure that our country takes the road of democracy, peace and social progress".

Denouncing the attempts of the Chinese leaders to force their dogmatic, adventurist line on the international Communist movement and revive the pernicious regime of the personality cult, the Executive called for an early conference of the Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the pressing problems of the international Communist movement, to uphold and strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

In a statement entitled "The Splitting Activity of the C.P.C. Leadership", the Political Bureau of the *Progressive Party of Cyprus Working People* (AKEL), replying to the Chinese charges that the Soviet Union does not help the peoples of the world in their struggle for freedom, declares that the latest developments on Cyprus give the lie to this brazen falsehood. The powerful support rendered by the Soviet Union to the people of Cyprus was the decisive factor in thwarting the aggressive designs of the imperialists and their agents in Ankara, the statement says.

AKEL emphatically supports all efforts aimed at strengthening the unity of the international revolutionary movement, the statement goes on, and it welcomes the proposal made by the C.P.S.U. for convening a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries to overcome the difficulties and reinforce the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The Central Committee of the *People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran* published a statement which reads: "The line proposed by the Chinese leaders and their actions are causing grave injury to the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, including ours, and to the international Communist and working-class movement as a whole."

The statement stresses that a meeting of the fraternal parties is urgently needed in order to secure the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement.

Unen, central organ of the *Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*, printed an editorial entitled "For Closer Unity of the International Communist Movement" which said:

"The hide-bound Chinese doctrines are fundamentally alien to the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin and are in crying contradiction with the realities of the present-day revolutionary movement of the peoples. Everyone can see that the march of events in the world does not fit in with the cut and dried scheme of the Chinese theorists, that on the contrary it is evolving in conformity with the laws of its development.

"By pursuing the policy of disruption in the international Communist movement and by violently attacking the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties the Chinese leaders have shown themselves in the eyes of all Communists to be opponents of proletarian internationalism, opponents of the great principles of Marxism-Leninism."

The article points out that the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party fully supports the proposal for an early conference of the Communist and Workers' parties with a view to strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement.

Eighteenth Convention of the Communist Party of Canada

THE 18th Convention of the Communist Party of Canada, held over March 27-30, unanimously adopted a three-point programme and re-elected Leslie Morris the Party's General Secretary and Tim Buck its National Chairman.

The three-point programme is based on the Party's solid adherence to the principle of peaceful coexistence and the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in Canada. It relates in concrete terms the Party's long-term programme, "The Road to Socialism in Canada", to the conditions pertaining in the country today.

The three points the Party will campaign for are:

1. A new foreign policy of peace, disarmament and world trade;

2. A new constitution for Canada that guarantees to the French Canadian nation the right to national self-determination;
3. A new economic policy based on all-round Canadian owned and controlled economic development.

The Convention greeted the partial test-ban treaty as the first big step towards the easing of international tensions, opening up the prospects of further steps in the same direction. The report by Comrade Morris drew attention to the fact that inner conflicts around peace or war policy increasingly bedevil the capitalist governments of the West, first of all the U.S.A. The Convention declared that now is the time to increase the vocal and demonstrative powers of peace movements of all types, to push hard for new peace victories, to dampen down the seedbeds of war.

The Party will focus all peace activity on the direct unifying demand that the government of Canada cancel the nuclear arms agreement with the U.S.A. and send the nuclear warheads back to that country. In the Party's opinion this would mean striking a blow simultaneously for peace and an independent foreign policy. There is a real basis for this, for the present government (Liberal) was elected on a minority vote and does not enjoy a majority of seats in parliament. The majority of voters in the last election (April 1963) voted for parties which in one way or another opposed stationing U.S. nuclear arms in Canada. The government stands on poor moral and political grounds in continuing to defy public opinion by keeping these weapons on Canadian soil.

The Party is firmly of the opinion that conditions are favourable for new victories in Canada for peace and peaceful coexistence. The main report put it this way: "The sales of vast quantities of grain to People's China, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria are visible proof of the need for a new trade policy freed from the shackles of the cold war."

When one considers the deep-seated desire of the Canadian people for peace and their hatred of the thermo-nuclear weapon it is not hard to understand why Canadians favour and, in their own way, act to prevent war and to establish friendly relations with all countries.

For these reasons, among many others, the main report said: "Our Party has long since voiced its disagreement with the position of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, who, regrettably, have now gone from public polemics against the agreed policy of the world Communist movement to open calls for the splitting of all parties who do not agree with them."

The Convention was unanimous in calling for ending the polemic and to take steps to call a new conference of the parties, to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, for victory of the mighty movements for national liberation, and for seizing upon the new opportunities for social advance which the crisis of imperialism and the growing power of socialism have opened up.

* * *

The Party is calling for a new Canadian unity of the French and English speaking nations in a new Canadian Constitution.[1] The Convention said that the right of self-determination for French Canada is in the interests of the working class of French and English Canada alike. It declared that there cannot be unity of the workers of the two nations without economic, political and social equality of French Canadian workers with English-speaking Canadian workers.

The main report stated: "The test of Communist principles on the national question is *how* Communists, as internationalists, *fight* for the rights of the French Canadian nation, how they combat *all* attempts, no matter under what guise, to limit or distort those rights."

The Party holds that the settlement of the national rights of the French Canadian nation is the gravest domestic issue facing the peoples of Canada. To save the unity of the country in the face of the predatory aims of U.S. imperialism towards Canada as a whole is a foremost task of every Canadian democrat.

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[1] Canada is a federal state embracing 10 provinces, one of which is Quebec whose people constitute the French Canadian nation. Confederation will be 100 years old in 1967.

The Convention declared that the independence of Canada as a whole will be strengthened when French Canada achieves its national rights and aspirations, and would be weakened if those rights are denied or infringed in any way whatever.

The growing struggle of the French Canadian people for national equality and justice arises out of Canadian historical development, i.e., the English conquest and the continuing subordinate position, economic, political and social, of the French Canadians in respect to the Anglo-Saxon nation. This struggle has now received strong impetus from the national-liberation movements throughout the world, and especially in Cuba and Latin America. The Party holds that it is part of the national-liberation movement everywhere, and it is no less a classical movement for national liberation because it takes place in a highly developed capitalist country instead of a colonial country.

The crisis of Confederation deeply affects the whole of Canada. Renegotiating the terms of union, embodying the principle of national self-determination for French Canada, will inevitably throw into discussion the whole of the present state structure of Canada. Many questions affecting taxation, education, social demands and civil rights are tied in with sweeping constitutional reform.

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"People versus the Monopolies" is the slogan under which the Party will campaign to fix in the public mind the idea that the needs of the working class, the farmers, the middle class people of the towns and the smaller capitalists must come before the profits of the giant monopolies.

The Party charges that monopoly rule in Canada—a combination of U.S. and Canadian monopoly capital—ravages Canadian sovereignty and is now leading to cries for the complete takeover of Canada by the United States. This monopoly has created in Canada a dependency on the U.S. for machine tools and machinery. It distorts the economy and holds back balanced industrialisation. It is ruining the urban middle class and farmers (the number of agricultural producers dropped from 1,128,000 in 1931 to 650,000 in 1961).

The population is undergoing rapid proletarianisation. The 1961 census shows a big increase in white collar and service workers; slow growth in manual occupations but a relative overall decline. From 1931 to 1961 the number of office appliance operators increased by 1,529 per cent, four out of every ten workers were in the white-collar category for a total of 2,500,000 such workers. Their ranks grew from 1951 to 1961 by 750,000. Manual workers made up only 35 per cent of the labour force in 1961 as against 38 per cent in 1951. Although their numbers increased in the 1950's the rate of growth of manual workers was only half that of the total labour force. The fastest growing group are the professional and technical workers. This group increased by 65 per cent in the ten-year period from 1951-61 and now make up 10 per cent of a total labour force of 6,737,000.

These new working-class categories are almost wholly unorganised. The trade unions are still confined in the main to manual or machine production workers. The Party holds that the problem of the organisation of the working class is now different from what it was in the past. It demands in the first place a different concept of what constitutes a worker in this modern computer-technological age. The old divisions between white-collar and blue-collar workers have to be broken down—they have got to be brought to an appreciation that they have common interests in the fight against monopoly and the capitalist effects of automation.

The Party demands that the fruits of science, the electronics age, must go to the people and not to a handful of monopolists who do not number much more than 200 persons in this country. This, the Party says, is the new revolutionary problem placed before the people by the march of science. Canada, it declares, is over-ripe for socialism.

The Convention declared that Canada needs a counter-movement to monopoly and its programme of war, scarcity, economic insecurity, unemployment, unbearable taxation, high prices, bleak prospects for the youth and the double burden of home and job for working women who now constitute 31 per cent of the working force.

The Party's programme of resistance to monopoly, for Canadian independence, calls for cuts in the arms budget, democratic labour and public controls on automation, structural reforms in the economic system to democratise it, social security, the shorter work week and work day, higher pay, a substantial housing programme, universal

medical care, educational reforms, higher pensions; lower prices, lower taxes on workers and farmers and higher taxes on monopoly, day-care centres for children of working mothers; the whole gamut of people's needs as against the parasitical, anti-social interests of the 200 big shots who own and control Canada. The economic burden must be shifted from the poor to the rich, from the people to monopoly. With these aims in mind the Party will campaign around a special programme for a new policy for Canada.

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The Party discussion and the Convention debate naturally expressed deep concern over the problems of Party growth, the higher age average of Party membership, press and literature sales. Our Party and its press are not yet growing. The main report affirmed that this was due to a number of factors "connected with the cold war offensive against communism, with the illusions of prosperity, with mistakes we have made, with a conservatism and rigidity in our organisation, leadership, style of work, language and so on. All of this has weakened our campaigning abilities and willingness to campaign and to go among people as Communists, to fight for the Party, for the Y.C.L. and for our press and literature".

Despite the difficulties and the hard days the Communist Party of Canada is a viable party devoted to the working class and contributing much to the progressive life of Canada—with our fight for peace, our policies of independence, our battle for united working-class political action and our fight in many elections for the democratic alternative. We have conducted educational work, maintained our Party press and helped to build the foundation for a strong youth movement in the Young Communist League.

In order to solve our problems of growth the Convention decided that the main thing the Party must do is to vigorously campaign, demonstrating the widest initiative in so doing, around our three-point programme for Canada.

It decided also that this means:

(1) Stronger central leadership in the National Executive Committee to organise Party campaigning in the provinces and localities, to work out plans for public work and public meetings, to make specific and well thought out proposals to take our three points to the people, and to the workers in the first place;

(2) fresh vigorous stimulating treatment by our press and literature of the situation in our country and the way forward, and fighting for new readers every day;

(3) work for the three-point programme in the provinces and the localities, adapting it to local or provincial conditions while guarding against the danger of placing provincial programmes separately from the all-Canadian programme of our Party;

(4) important areas for the development of the Party's public activity are the municipalities. Communists hold a number of positions on municipal councils. More seats can be won, for experience shows that the Party polls its best vote in these elections. The Convention called for increased activity in the municipal arena with the aim of electing more Communist councillors.

This also implies:

(5) developing wide debates and discussions around the three-point programme with all who are ready to talk with us, in the trade unions, farmers' organisations, in the whole of the public arena;

(6) plunging deeper into the battle of ideas about the future of society which is now active and turbulent, finding ways of entering into this debate without demanding a commitment to Communist ideas on the part of those with whom we debate, being ready to learn from others and doing away with the conceit that we have all the answers because we are Marxists.

The Convention concluded that the Communist Party of Canada will grow and its influence will expand only by the Party being in action among people; by speaking about our Party with pride, by asking people to join and to read, by being flexible and experimental in organisation, by spreading communist ideas and policies.

The keynote of the Convention was initiative, audacity, conviction, pride in the Party and its programme.

A. Dewhurst

Forthcoming Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party

THE Fourth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party scheduled to be opened on June 15, coincides with the twentieth anniversary of People's Poland. The nation-wide pre-Congress discussion, now under way, is centred on the results of the past 20 years and on the prospects for development in 1966-70; the discussion is based on the theses drafted for the Fourth Congress and unanimously adopted by the meeting of the Central Committee held last March.

Two 20-Year Periods

Impressive comparisons between the 20 years of People's Poland and the 20 years of bourgeois Poland (1918-39), its potential of that time and of today, are being made at the Party meetings, at meetings of non-Party people, at scientific sessions and in the press. Two-thirds of the population have no personal experience of capitalism. In the figures and documents, in research works and in the experiences related by eye-witnesses, people see the vivid picture of the changes brought about by the socialist revolution. The brief 20-year period of people's rule has brought about the greatest turn in the thousand years' history of the country. Weak and backward in the past, a country of landlords and capitalists linked with international reaction, Poland has now become, thanks to socialism, a strong people's state with a dynamic economy and high cultural standards, a member of the great socialist community.

Industrial potential per head of population has increased 10-fold compared with that of the old bourgeois Poland, agricultural output per 100 hectares has grown by two-thirds. Between 1947 and 1962 the head of cattle grew two-fold, hogs four-fold.

Noteworthy are the successes achieved on the land rejoined to Poland after the Second World War. Agriculture, which was deliberately ruined by the Nazis (losses in cattle were practically 94 per cent, in immovable property 28 per cent), is now more productive than before the war. Output of electric power has increased five-fold in these areas compared with prewar, that of steel and machine-tools four-fold and cement three-fold. These figures give the lie to the falsehoods spread by the Bonn militarists and revenge-seekers.

Branches decisive for the modernisation of industry have been created anew and are developing at a rapid pace. Output of the engineering industry has grown 30-fold compared with what it was in bourgeois Poland; the chemical industry shows a 20-fold increase. The industrial working class has grown four-fold and the numbers of engineers and technicians eight-fold.

The Polish people, freed from exploitation and the exploiters, fully enjoy the fruits of their labour. The national income, which has grown three-fold, makes for the sweeping scale of industrial development, housing, social and cultural upbuilding and a substantial rise in the standard of living. Per capita annual consumption of meats and fats, for instance, increased in 1962, compared with 1933-37, from 19.6 kg. to 52.9 kg., sugar—from 9.6 kg. to 30.2 kg.

In education, science and culture generally Poland, which in 1938 was one of the most backward countries, has now advanced to one of the first places in the world. In the old Poland over 5.5 million people of 10 years of age and upwards were illiterate, whereas every seventh teacher was unemployed. Today illiteracy has been wiped out; all children attend school. For every 10,000 of the population, there are 62 students in the higher educational establishments (the figure for Britain is 36). An expression of the growth of well-being is the present average life span of 67.8 years, compared with 49.8 years in the old Poland.

Hostile propaganda, powerless to dispute the achievements of socialism, ascribes them solely to the effects of world scientific and technological progress "independent" of the social system. Facts, however, prove irrefutably that it took socialism to elevate Poland from its poverty and hopeless weakness to its present level of well-being. Per capita industrial output, which comprised only a half of the average world level in the past, today exceeds twice this average figure.

The plight of present-day Spain or Greece, whose prewar level of development roughly coincided with that of the old Poland, tells our people what their lot would have been, had they remained under the rule of the bourgeoisie. Hence it is not

fortuitous that the experience of Poland, like the experience of other socialist countries, is thoroughly studied by the politicians and economists of the underdeveloped countries, for this experience demonstrates that only the non-capitalist path can enable these countries to put an end to their backwardness and win complete sovereignty.

A comparison of Poland's development with that of the advanced countries of Western Europe bears witness to the advantages of socialism.

Today Poland's per capita industrial output comprises 60 per cent of that in Great Britain, France, West Germany and Italy—under the capitalist rule it was only 17-18 per cent. These West European countries, it should be said, have not been marking time and have added greatly to their industrial potential since the Second World War. The creative power of socialism stands out in even bolder relief when one bears in mind the losses suffered by Poland during the war and occupation: the Nazis killed 6 million people, destroyed a number of industrial centres, including Warsaw, and 38 per cent of the national wealth (by way of comparison, this figure was 0.8 per cent in Britain and 1.5 per cent in France).

These facts help to strengthen the optimistic spirit of the pre-Congress discussion, deepen the people's faith in the correctness of the socialist way and reveal the new creative powers needed for the realisation of the more complex tasks set by the new stage of socialist construction.

Directives of the New Five-Year Plan

The pre-Congress discussion pivots on the tasks and directives of the plan for 1966-70—the core of the theses for the Congress. On the basis of the present level of development and the growing requirements of society, the draft five-year plan envisages a 45-47 per cent increase in output of industry and a 14-15 per cent increase in agriculture.

Concentrating efforts on further expansion of the industrial base will ensure accelerated growth of the electric power and machine-building industries (by 65-67 per cent) and the chemical industry (more than two-fold), which play the decisive role in technological advance, in farming and in producing more goods for export. Large sums will be allocated for development of the fuel, electric power and raw materials base. One quarter of all investments (i.e., more than ever before) will be made in agriculture, for its mechanisation and production of chemical fertilisers to do away with the disproportion between the growth of animal husbandry and the shortage of fodder and gradually overcome the need to import grain.

The plan provides for a further rise in well-being and cultural standards. The distributable part of the national income is to grow by roughly 30 per cent, and the personal-consumption fund by 25 per cent.

These tasks necessitate investments in the amount of 830,000-840,000 million zlotys, i.e., 36-38 per cent more than the sum allocated for 1961-65.

By submitting the theses for the Fourth Party Congress for nationwide discussion, said Comrade Gomulka, the Party wants to get the working people to make their suggestions as to how to solve more efficiently the vital economic problems; this will make it possible to draw up a better new plan and make provisions for more effective solutions.

The present situation favours the discussion now under way at the open meetings of the United Workers' Party and other fraternal parties, at conferences of workers' self-administration, in the trade unions, press and on radio and television.

The discussion so far has shown that the C.C. theses for the Congress and the trend of the economic and social development set forth in them are meeting with general approval. While concentrating on the key problems, those which determine the development of the separate enterprises, branches of the economy and the country as a whole, the participants in the discussion also criticise the shortcomings and make proposals for overcoming them and for accelerating the rate of economic development.

The programme for improving the methods of planning and economic management set forth in the theses has been well received and is being gradually implemented. The basic trend of the reforms is in changing the functioning of the industrial associations (trusts). They will acquire a greater measure of economic independence both in the administration of subordinate enterprises and in disposing of their finances. Extending the scope of competence of the trusts as regards the results of the work of the enterprises, will stimulate growth of workers' self-administration in the factories.

Factory meetings are attended by Party and government leaders and industrial managers who listen to the workers, give explanations and who have instructions from the Central Committee to take up the feasible proposals and effectively respond to just criticisms.

Thus, the future five-year plan will be based on the results of the nationwide discussion which will be summed up by the Fourth Congress. Discussion of the draft five-year plan will continue after the Congress—it will come before the Seym (Parliament) for ratification only in the autumn of 1965.

The Policy and Tasks of the Party

The United Workers' Party—the vanguard of the working class and the people of Poland—is the decisive force of the socialist construction. It ensures the homogeneous, socialist direction of activity on all sectors. The Party formulates the basic line of foreign policy in keeping with the principles which have been fully borne out by the experience of the past twenty years and which have been approved by the people:

—with the socialist countries: close friendship and unity founded on the common ideas and aims;

—with the peoples fighting for their social and national emancipation, for strengthening their sovereignty: fraternal solidarity and wholehearted support;

—with the capitalist countries: relations founded on the principles of peaceful coexistence, economic, scientific, technological and cultural co-operation.

An important element of the pre-Congress preparation was the fruitful visit of a Party and government delegation to the Soviet Union last April. This visit has reinforced the bonds of friendship and fraternity that unite our parties, countries and peoples. Speaking on the occasion of the 19th anniversary of the Polish-Soviet Treaty, Comrade Gomulka said: "Our Party has expressed its complete solidarity with the ideological standpoint and policy of the C.P.S.U. which is guided, in its practical activity, by the historic decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses and the principles jointly laid down at the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties. We have again thwarted the designs of those who, speculating on the differences in the working-class movement, cherished the vain hope that these will weaken the ties uniting our Party and the C.P.S.U."

In solidarity with the ideological position of the C.P.S.U., Party members addressing the pre-Congress meetings denounce everything which weakens the unity of the international Communist movement and the solidarity of the socialist camp.

The discussion is enriching and concretising those aspects of the theses which point to the trend of the further development of all forms of socialist democracy, making for the growth of initiative, extending the participation of the people in economic management and in running the country.

More attention is centred on problems of ideological work, on popularising Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialist ethics among people, on questions of the new attitude to labour and socialist property and on developing the new socialist culture. People are debating how to make the ideological and educational work more effective in the struggle against the influence of the capitalist world, against reactionary ideology and petty-bourgeois mentality, against bad habits and backward traditions.

Special importance is attached to work on the ideological front. The Party is anxious that literature and art should serve the aims of the struggle and work of the builders of socialism, that they should give people hope and faith in the morrow, combat evil and reflect the rich and versatile truth of life and be permeated with socialist humanism.

Participants in the discussion pay close attention to problems of the youth, increasing numbers of whom, owing to the postwar demographic changes, are joining industry and are becoming socially active.

The Party approaches its Fourth Congress, strong and united. It has 1,534,000 members. Fulfilling important political and economic tasks, the Party organisations have improved their methods of work, have become more independent in tackling and solving problems and show greater responsibility in carrying out Party policy.

Since the Third Congress 725,000 new members have joined the Party. The ideological and political education of this great reinforcement hinges on fulfilment of the central task—to activate all the ideological work of the Party. The pre-Congress discussion, which is developing in the atmosphere of adherence to principle, in the struggle against

dogmatic, sectarian and revisionist deviations, assists the growth of political maturity of the members and the consolidation of the ideological unity of the Party.

F. Tarnowski

Lessons of the Armed Struggle in the Dominican Republic

NOVEMBER 1963 saw the beginning of the guerilla movement against the reactionary dictatorship which had been installed two months previously in the Dominican Republic. At the end of December the guerilla forces were destroyed by the government troops. The lessons of this struggle are examined in a statement issued by the Central Committee of the People's Socialist Party, distributed in the country at the end of January.

Why did the guerilla movement suffer a defeat?—this is the first question posed in the statement.

The defeat, it points out, was accelerated by the inadequate technical and organisational preparation of the movement. But the *main* reason for the tragic defeat of the revolutionary forces was that the *social and political conditions needed for the victory of the armed uprising*, the actual aim of which was to place power in the hands of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces, *were wanting in the country*.

The main force of the revolution—the peasantry—is only now becoming organised and as yet has not been drawn into active struggle for land. The peasant movement is characterised by such features as backwardness, blind subordination to the reactionary clergy and fear of the army. The peasants have not yet shaken off the coma of the more than 30 years of the Trujillo dictatorship.

The working class is called upon to be the leader of the revolution. But despite its traditions of struggle against the dictatorship and its higher level of organisation, its political awareness is not deep enough; a big section of the workers is influenced by reactionary propaganda. The trade union movement is split (there are four trade union centres). Only small numbers of the working class are as yet ready for revolutionary struggle. The economic struggle is still the main field of action of the proletariat.

The middle sections are not homogeneous. Some of the professionals, clerical workers and small shopkeepers adhere to democratic views. Others are influenced by the right or moderate forces, such as the Social Christian Party. Fairly large numbers of the students in the capital and in other cities are active in the anti-imperialist struggle and sympathise with the revolution.

The bourgeois opposition, consisting of both nationalist and conciliatory elements, dreads revolution more than it dreads the despotic government. The spectre of "Castro communism" paralyses this bourgeoisie and impels it to make political deals with those associated with the dictatorship.

The comprador bourgeoisie and the latifundists, who control the machinery of state and who maintain their influence in the countryside and among part of the urban population, are resisting not only the revolution but also the restricted bourgeois freedoms which existed prior to September 25 last year.

Hence it is only the vanguard—a small section of the workers and students—who today stand for revolution. The majority of the people believe that the way out of the crisis is to restore political freedom and the Constitution of April 1963; they still fail to understand that revolution is the only way to end the tyranny, poverty and oppression.

"A revolutionary situation did not exist at that time, nor does it exist today," the statement says. "Despite the contradictions rending the top junta, the reactionary classes have not yet exhausted their possibilities for rule or their capacity to manoeuvre; the 'lower echelons' have not yet overcome the illusions about solving their problems under the present socio-economic set-up. Nor has the political crisis reached a point where it could impel the masses to take 'independent action'.

"A revolutionary situation is not created artificially. Neither one centre nor ten insurgent centres can engender revolution without a revolutionary situation. Revolutions are the outcome of the maximum exacerbation of the class contradictions and call for the existence of objective and subjective conditions (level of organisation and consciousness

of the masses) without which victory is impossible. . . . The vanguard should not take its feelings and wishes for the feelings and wishes of the masses. If the vanguard goes into battle single-handed, the result can be but one—defeat."

Such are the conclusions drawn with regard to the reasons for the defeat of the attempts to establish guerilla centres in the Dominican Republic. This, naturally, poses the question of the ways and forms of the future revolutionary struggle in this country.

The statement emphasises that the preponderance of some forms of the struggle over others will be determined by the development of the revolutionary movement, by the specific conditions in which it takes place.

"Today," it goes on, "it is impossible to foresee exactly what road will lead to the victory of the revolution in our country. The present state of affairs and the existence of a vast military apparatus of repression—an instrument of the ultra-reactionary ruling bloc of the bourgeoisie and the latifundists—indicate that the main, but not sole, form of the struggle for the victory of the national-liberation revolution must be the armed struggle, a people's uprising. If we base ourselves on the present situation this will be the most likely outcome.

"But we should not completely disregard the other possibility. . . . The fresh successes of the forces of peace and socialism, the further heavy defeats suffered by imperialism (which have a direct bearing on the situation in our country) and the considerable development and consolidation of our democratic movement may lead to the possibility of achieving deep-going changes in the socio-economic structure of our country also without civil war.

"Today, we repeat, the way of the armed uprising seems to be the most probable. But revolutionaries must consider all the possibilities because the march of events can bring to the fore a form of struggle which in the past seemed to be of secondary importance."

Analysing the interrelated problems of the forms of the revolution, the time when it can take place and the conditions needed to ensure its victory, the statement of the Central Committee takes exception to those who claim that the problem of the revolution consists merely in the need to "have the courage to make it".

"The problem of the revolution is above all the problem of the class struggle, not of 'courage'. All peoples possess courage and determination, but not all of them have reached the same level of organisation and political consciousness. Not in all countries are there the conditions for the beginning of the revolution, and not in all countries will the revolution follow one and the same road."

In this connection the statement expresses disagreement with the thesis that guerilla warfare is the only way of revolution in Latin America.

"Each country will choose its own road in keeping with its specific conditions. In some countries this will be the road of guerilla warfare, in others some other form of popular uprising, in still others there may arise the possibility of achieving revolutionary changes without civil war. Determining this road and the time of taking it is wholly within the competence of the revolutionary forces of each country. . . . Premature calls for armed uprising, sectarianism and ultra-leftism, which still hold some revolutionaries under their sway, impede this struggle, divide the democratic forces, and postpone the time of the revolution instead of bringing it nearer."

What programme and methods of action correspond to the objective conditions and requirements of the present stage of the revolutionary process in the country and will make it possible to accelerate its development?

Replying to this question, the C.C. statement points out that today the principal aim, one which unites the majority of the people, is the struggle for political freedoms, for restoration of democracy.

"We say to those who have lost their heads: the more vigorous our actions today for political freedom and against the despotism, the higher the level of organisation and consciousness of the working class, the greater the social forces which join the common mass movement, the more will the cause of progress be advanced and the nearer will be the day of the emancipatory national revolution."

Despite the repressions the people are carrying on the fight. The working class, turning a deaf ear to official declarations about "peace between workers and the employers" and defying all threats and "legal" proscriptions, is resorting to strikes again and again to defend its economic interests; students are marching in demonstrations against the

dictatorship and imperialism; professionals and intellectuals are fighting for civil liberties and human rights. All these forces and the various actions which help to rally the people against the dictatorship are a powerful obstacle in the way of despotism. These actions have already compelled the government to abstain from some of its reactionary measures. The growth and consolidation of this struggle, the unity of all the anti-dictator forces—these are the guarantees of the defeat of the putschists and of restoration of democracy.

An analysis of the lessons of the December defeat and the need to build the unity of the democratic forces demand from the Communists an unequivocal answer to the difficult and responsible question—their attitude to those who organised the guerilla movement and who continue to advocate similar methods of struggle.

The statement recalls that the Party has repeatedly warned about the impossibility of waging a successful guerilla struggle at the present time. It calls for persistent explanatory work to show the pernicious effects of sectarianism for the cause of the revolution.

"However," the statement emphasises, "after the formation of guerilla centres and as an expression of our solidarity with all who are fighting against the dictatorship in one way or another, we called on the people to render every possible help to the guerillas.

"The speed with which the guerilla forces were defeated prevented this help from taking concrete shape. We, however, made it clear that we place solidarity between revolutionaries higher than tactical differences.

"The fighters of the June 14 Revolutionary Movement, who fell in battle . . . were motivated by patriotic intentions, by the desire to give an impetus to the revolution. Their death is a heavy loss to the Dominican revolutionary movement. The Dominican People's Socialist Party lowers its fighting banners in tribute to these brave revolutionaries, staunch anti-imperialists.

"However, respect and credit to the heroes who have fallen in the mountains is not at variance with a thorough, sober and objective analysis of the events. This analysis is needed for the struggle of our people and for the revolution for which we are all working. And this is needed not in order to minimise the glory of the fallen, but to advance the cause for which they gave their lives."

The statement points out that the June 14 Revolutionary Movement is the biggest movement of the left, a movement which came into being in the struggle against the Trujillo tyranny and which enjoys prestige and influence among the masses. The Communists were the first to recognise this role which history has allotted to the comrades of the June 14 Revolutionary Movement. If the two parties diverge on some tactical questions, they are in complete agreement on the strategic aims of the revolution. That which unites them is far greater than anything that can divide them.

On the basis of this identity of purpose, the People's Socialist Party strives to maintain relations of friendship and close co-operation with the June 14 Revolutionary Movement, just as with all the revolutionary forces.

In conclusion the statement advances a programme of political and socio-economic demands destined to become the programme of joint struggle for all the democratic forces.

Syrian Communist Party's Appeal

THE Lebanese newspaper *Al-Akhbar* published a manifesto of the Syrian Communist Party addressed to the working people of the country. Having won liberation from the old forms of imperialism, the manifesto says, Syria is now in danger of seeing a return of imperialism in new forms. Whereas formerly the imperialists relied on the feudal and avowedly reactionary elements, today they are searching for and finding allies among the right-wing nationalists, who make use of the slogans of Arabism, unity and even socialism. An example of this is the co-operation of the imperialists with the right-wing of the Ba'ath Party.

The manifesto goes on: "An end should be put to the despotic and dictatorial methods of government; the workers, peasants and other genuinely national forces should be granted extensive democratic rights, for they are the only force capable of

resisting imperialism and reaction, of affecting the progressive social changes which our country needs."

The authors of the manifesto express confidence in the ability of the patriotic elements, provided they are united, to build an independent, prosperous and economically strong state in Syria. This state should be based on a broad national people's front encompassing workers, peasants, professionals and all progressive and democratic elements; the reactionaries and conciliators should be isolated. Strengthening and expanding the state sector in the economy is the way to ensure rapid economic development.

The manifesto sets forth a programme for securing the country's advance and raising the standards of living of her people. Its principal demands are: a radical land reform and encouragement to the co-operative movement in the countryside; safeguarding and extending the gains of the workers; workers' control over the nationalised enterprises; democratic liberties; industrialisation; strengthening and expanding the state sector independent of both foreign capital and the capital of the home bourgeoisie; nationalisation of the foreign-owned enterprises; nipping in the bud the imperialist penetration in its new forms; nationalisation of banking houses and banks; control of foreign trade; participation in the struggle for peace and a policy of peaceful coexistence between states of differing social systems; support for general and complete disarmament; resolute pursuit of an independent foreign policy of peace with the stress on neutrality and non-alignment; strengthening and developing the bonds of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp.

The manifesto points out that imperialism wants an Arab unity movement that would be anti-communist. "The working class of Syria and the other fraternal Arab countries," it goes on, "warmly support the idea of Arab unity, but they cannot regard it in isolation from the problems of democracy, anti-imperialist struggle and friendship with the countries of the socialist camp and its vanguard—the Soviet Union."

On the basis of the lessons of the failure of the Syrian-Egyptian union, the manifesto defines the foundations of genuine Arab unity: (a) the need to combat imperialism in all its manifestations; (b) respect for democratic freedoms; (c) cognisance of the specific features of each country and rejection of any subordination of one country to another; (d) thorough scientific study by each of the sides expressing the desire to unite and nation-wide discussion of the terms of unity; (e) strengthening friendship and co-operation with the socialist camp and its vanguard—the Soviet Union.

The Syrian Communists urge the workers to unite in order to realise their immediate demands, to fight shoulder to shoulder with the peasantry for their civil and economic rights, for Syria's transition to the socialist way of development.

In Memoriam—Otto Wilhelmovich Kuusinen

COMRADE Otto Kuusinen, faithful disciple and comrade-in-arms of the great Lenin, outstanding leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the C.C., C.P.S.U., died on May 17.

Kuusinen's whole life was a model of dedicated service to the cause of the working class, the revolutionary struggle of the working people, to communism. A staunch fighter of the Leninist guard, Kuusinen gave all his energy to the struggle of the working people, for the triumph of the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Otto Kuusinen was born on October 3, 1881, in the village of Laukaa, Finland, into the family of a tailor. His early revolutionary activities were associated with the struggles of the Finnish workers and the proletarian movement in Russia, He joined the Social Democratic Party of Finland in 1904, when a student in Helsingfors University, and soon became one of the leaders of its revolutionary left wing. In 1908 he was elected to the national committee of the Social Democratic Party. He was editor of its central organ, *Tyomies* ("Worker") from 1907 to 1916 and participated in the Copenhagen (1910) and Basle (1912) Congresses of the Second International.

Kuusinen took part in the revolution of 1905-7 and in the October Revolution. He was one of the leaders of the proletarian revolution in Finland (1918), and was a member of the revolutionary government in the capacity of People's Commissar for Education. Kuusinen was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Finland, established in August 1918.

Kuusinen's services to the international working-class movement are great indeed. He took part in founding the Communist International and attended all but one of its Congresses, the Second. At the Third Congress of the Comintern he was elected a member of its Executive Committee. Between 1921 and 1939, as Member of the Presidium and one of the secretaries of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, he worked hard for the international unity of the Communists of all countries. He addressed congresses and plenary meetings of the Comintern on the struggle against fascism and the war danger, on the national-liberation movement and on other vital issues. He wrote a number of papers on strategy and tactics, and on organisation.

Kuusinen was a man skilled in combining revolutionary practical work with study of theoretical problems. He made a big contribution to the growth and consolidation of the international Communist movement.

In 1941 Otto Kuusinen became a member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and was elected Member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the C.C., in 1957. In the past decade Kuusinen together with the other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union fought uncompromisingly to restore the Leninist standards of Party and political life, and for the Leninist policy of the C.P.S.U. His devotion to the creative spirit and humanism of Marxism-Leninism placed him among the men who secured the triumph of the Leninist ideas of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. under the leadership of N. S. Khrushchov.

The death of Otto Kuusinen is a heavy loss to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the entire world Communist movement, for whose unity he had fought until the day of his death. In his last public speech at the plenary meeting of the C.C., C.P.S.U., in February 1964 Kuusinen denounced the leaders of the Communist Party of China for defiling and falsifying Marxism-Leninism and for attempting to split the world Communist movement.

The memory of this faithful Leninist, this outstanding veteran of the world Communist movement will live for ever in the hearts of all Communists and the working people of all countries.

Communications and Comment

Words and Deeds of the C.P.C. Leaders

(Two Letters from Members of the Leadership of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica)

THE attitude taken by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the government of the People's Republic of China has baffled and shocked Communists and fighters for peace and freedom and independence all over the world. The speeches by the Chinese leaders and government statements on questions of international politics appearing in the Chinese and capitalist press show how far they have departed from the general line of the world Communist movement and distorted Marxist-Leninist theory.

This state of affairs prompts me to write about a talk which leaders of some of the Latin American Communist and Workers' parties had with Comrade Mao Tse-tung on March 3, 1959. During a discussion of some three and a half hours, Mao Tse-tung expressed ideas which, in my view, contain a clue to the sources of the present attitude of the Chinese leaders.

When I returned I informed the leadership of my Party about our conversation with Mao Tse-tung. The members of our Central Committee and the other comrades present were delighted to hear my account of the hospitality with which we representatives of Latin American Communist parties were received. But when I told them of our conversation with Mao Tse-tung they were astonished and stunned. We could not understand how Mao Tse-tung, an outstanding leader of the world Communist movement, could allow himself to say what he said.

So far as I know, our conversation was not reported in the Chinese press. A very modified account of it appeared in October 1959 in *Nueva Era*, the Argentine Communist Party organ, and a somewhat fuller account on July 15, 1959, in *Unidad*, the daily paper of the Communist Party of Peru. Naturally none of the newspapers of the Latin American Communist parties that had representatives at the meeting with Mao, could publish our talk in full at that time, because the Chinese polemic with the world Communist movement had not yet come into the open. But now I think it is time to give the full account.

It will be appreciated that today, five years after the talk, I am unable to reproduce it in full. But I made notes, word for word, of the main points, those which bewildered me most. (Needless to say, at that time we listened attentively to every word uttered by Mao.) So today, in this letter, I am reproducing my notes.

Mao Tse-tung received us in a railway carriage in the open country, near the city of Chenchow, the administrative centre of Honan Province. To get there the Chinese comrades took us on a very interesting railway journey of hundreds of kilometres. Mao Tse-tung and the other leaders of the C.P.C. received us very warmly. Early on in the conversation, Mao said:

"We have expelled the North American imperialists from the mainland, but they are hanging on in Taiwan. We have warned them that they must get out, but they have refused. Perhaps you can recommend something. You know about last year's events. Only 80,000 people live on Quemoy, but the island is now known to the whole world. The United States is willing to let us have Quemoy and Matsu, but in return they want to keep Taiwan. That would be a bad bargain. We can afford to wait. Let Chiang Kai-shek keep Quemoy and Matsu. We will get them back later, along with the Pescadores and Taiwan. We have enough territory, and can get along without those islands for the time being."

At that time I thought these words worthy of a consummate revolutionary with deep faith in the future. His patience with regard to the problem of Taiwan seemed to me natural for the head of one of the biggest countries of the socialist camp, which is developing rapidly and acting as a powerful stimulus in the anti-imperialist struggle by its aid and force of example. We thought at the time that in any case the Taiwan problem was an extremely complicated one and that none but the Chinese people would

find the right solution for it. We, it is true, wished that it had been favourably settled years before. We knew, however, that in politics it is not always possible to do what one wants to do, and that there are laws and principles to which one must adhere. I believed then that his patience was due to these laws and principles, rather than anything else.

But the Chinese leader developed his idea and, gradually in the course of the conversation, we saw a different Mao Tse-tung, totally unlike the man we had known before. His words preplexed us.

"We don't want any reconciliation with the United States," he said. "The United States must give way to us, otherwise we will not negotiate with it. It does not matter if it refuses to return Taiwan for another 100 years. If it refuses to recognise us, we have no wish to recognise it either."

That made me think. I wondered if the leader of so big a Party and so big a country could afford to react in that way to serious problems of international relations. Could he have said it on the impulse of the moment, or was it, perhaps, a slip of the tongue? Could I have taken down his words incorrectly? But when I read what the Chinese leaders say today, I see that it was not a slip of the tongue, and that my notes are accurate. Did not Foreign Minister Chen Yi in an interview granted to the Brazilian paper *Ultima Ora* say that although relations between China and the U.S.A. could not be worse, China's anti-American attitude was "less dangerous than the policy of fear"? Did he not say that leaving Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao to the imperialists was a "revolutionary compromise"?

We gave much thought to Mao Tse-tung's words at that time. And they occupy our minds today. Do diplomatic relations with countries with differing social systems imply "reconciliation"? Perhaps the Chinese government established diplomatic relations with France because China has become "reconciled" to French imperialism? What, moreover, did Chou En-lai mean by saying to Norodom Sihanouk that "de Gaulle was born a Westerner. But believe me, he's a Westerner who resembles us".

"Reconciliation" or not, can it be that the Chinese leaders are not troubled by the fate of the people of Taiwan over the next hundred years?

During our talk, Mao Tse-tung scoffed at the opportunities offered by the U.N. to promote the struggle for peace. We had an entirely different view, and for years we had told our peoples to work for the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the U.N. We were surprised to learn that the Chinese leaders treated these efforts with scorn. Mao Tse-tung's government, we discovered, would not study "the possibilities of entering or refusing to enter" that important organisation until Taiwan's puppet government was banished from it.

"China has no legal status on the world arena," Mao Tse-tung went on. "For the West, China is an illegitimate state. That gives us freedom to act in defiance of law designed to restrict us. We can do as we wish. We are in no hurry to join the U.N. We are not going to stick our noses into that cesspool."

This attitude has not changed in the five years since our conversation. Kyodo Tsushin, the Japanese news agency, reports that recently, in a talk with Japanese journalists, Foreign Minister Chen Yi said in so many words:

"In the present circumstances, there is no need for China to play any role in the U.N. . . . So long as American imperialism runs the U.N. and so long as it maintains its unjust attitude towards China, my country will have nothing but contempt for that organisation."

The attitude of the Chinese Communist Party leaders towards the United Nations is understandable in the light of their differences with the general line of the world Communist movement, especially as regards peaceful co-existence. In their letter of June 14, 1963, the C.P.C. leaders said peaceful co-existence should not, in their view, be the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries. They did not put it as clearly as this in 1959, and we were astonished therefore by Mao's words.

"Last year," he said, "we had a lesson in politics from John Foster Dulles. Dulles is our teacher. His brinkmanship is aimed at us, but we, too, have learnt the art of brinkmanship, and we are applying it in our conflict over Quemoy. . . . When U.S. warships steamed to within three miles of our line of fire, we fired on them. Thus we were on the brink of war. We replied to brinkmanship with brinkmanship."

In saying this, Mao Tse-tung was not implying that brinkmanship was a means

applicable to specific situations such as the Quemoy-Matsu conflict. He tried to convey the impression that it was a brilliant stroke, a policy that should replace the world Communist movement's policy of peaceful co-existence.

"Who," he asked, "gains from the international tension? The United States or Britain, or the world proletariat? That is the question. In my belief, none of you should fear international tension. I, for one, favour international tension. The United States will realise that this tension which it has engendered will boomerang. It makes champions of peace and working people all over the world sit up and think, prompting many to join the Communist parties. . . . A Chinese proverb says, 'people dare to touch the tiger's whiskers'. I believe, therefore, that we have nothing to fear from the international tension."

Enough has been said about this incorrect attitude of the Chinese Communist Party leadership. The fraternal parties have not been as emphatic about any of the other controversial issues as they have about this point of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. That is beyond dispute. Only irrational people can juggle with words like international tension and nuclear war. The Communists are ready to make any sacrifice and lay down their lives for the happiness of their people. The peril of nuclear war with all it implies menaces the people today. That is why the Communists give precedence to the fight against it. No matter what worries one may have and how one's pride may have been ruffled, no one has the right to advocate world suicide as the way out.

And yet it is in these circumstances that the Chinese leaders try to convince the Communists of the world that "in a class society it is completely wrong to regard peaceful co-existence as 'the best and the sole acceptable way to solve the vitally important problems confronting society' and as 'the basic law of life for the whole of modern society'. This is social pacifism which repudiates class struggle. It is an outrageous betrayal of Marxism-Leninism." That is what they write in their "theoretical" articles, and to illustrate their actions we can quote the Hsinhua report that "Chen Yi firmly rejected the message containing the appeal to abandon use of force as a means of settling territorial disputes and border issues".

Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues maintain that brinkmanship will not have grave consequences because the imperialists talk of war merely for purposes of intimidation. That has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. To say so boils down to embellishing imperialism.

Yet the Chinese comrades harp away on this theme. I realise now that the astonishing things Mao Tse-tung said to us in 1959, which we had thought hyperbolical, were not spoken by accident.

"We must get rid of inhibitions," he said, "including the inhibitions about the international tension. Imperialism creates tensions for purposes of intimidation. . . . Some fear the North Atlantic bloc, but it is not made of concrete or of bricks and mortar. It is a thing of paper. . . . The idea that the North Americans are powerful is simply a reflex. . . . Some countries think that international tension is bad for the peoples. But if there is international tension the Communist parties will grow more quickly, the rate of their development will be more rapid. There is also some prejudice about the NATO bloc. It is supposed to be strong, while we are supposed to be weak and our forces dispersed. That is wrong. The imperialists have three military blocs—NATO, SEATO and the Bagdad pact. But the three are held together with soya paste. (Have you tried our soya paste? It is a pity you have not, but we shall see to it that you do. It is a typical Chinese dish)."

This attitude to the peace policy of the world Communist movement, which the C.P.C. leaders also followed in the past, is well nigh incredible. The Chinese comrades should know that their arguments against the partial nuclear test-ban treaty sound absurd to the world Communist movement. I wonder if Comrade Mao Tse-tung also considers atomic radiation to be as harmless as soya paste?

Mao devoted much of his talk with us to the thesis that Marxism should concentrate solely on problems concerning Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We have come to realise that in speaking to us Latin American Communists, Mao Tse-tung spoke a language foreign to Marxism-Leninism. I must say that we were surprised even then by his attitude towards the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

"Every time we meet," he said, "we feel that we meet as equals. But our feelings are different when we meet people from the Western countries (naturally, I do not mean Marxists or progressives). The fact is that Westerners look down on us, regard us as a worthless lot; but in doing so they underrate us."

We wondered what he meant by classifying countries and peoples into eastern and western? Was this not a departure from proletarian internationalism? Surely we Communists must understand that in non-socialist countries, whether eastern or western, there are exploiters who look down on the peoples with contempt? Surely we Communists must analyse the various problems of social struggle from an internationalist and class standpoint?

Of course, even a responsible leader can make a slip of the tongue, say something that can be interpreted wrongly. But in the given case this was not so. That was clear from what he said next.

"Recently," he went on, "I met a friend from West Germany. I said to him: 'Your Marx is now engrossed in the affairs of our country, so much so that he is neglecting things at home. But after he has done well in our country, he will return home.' I am speaking about the Western world."

This shows that Mao Tse-tung approaches revolutionary struggle from the standpoint of geography, which is a dangerous thing to do. Moreover, he is trying to make a certain far from proletarian tendency appear in the guise of Marxism, a tendency that stimulates racial sentiment in the struggle against colonialism. But these attempts will not succeed. The Communist parties of the world will not be diverted from the right road.

I have been a Party member for many years. I have the greatest admiration for the people of China and for their Communist Party. I have admired its leaders. But now I ask myself: how far will these leaders go? What are they really after? *Can they not see that the only success the imperialists can claim today are the factional and provocative activities of the Chinese leaders?* How is it that leaders whose struggle has won them so much affection and prestige in the world Communist movement are today unable to rise above their errors?

There has been enough discussion of the differences that have arisen in the world Communist movement through the fault of the Chinese leaders. To continue the discussion in its present form would encourage those anti-Leninist methods which the C.P.C. leaders are trying to implant in our parties by enlisting corrupt and opportunist elements and resorting to distortion and slander. The time has come for another conference of the Communist and Workers' parties so that they can state their views about the attitude taken by the Chinese leaders and about their activity.

Eduardo Mora Valverde

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Before sending the above letter to the editors of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, Comrade Mora Valverde showed it to me. I think it should be supplemented with more facts, and am therefore attaching a letter of my own.

The point is that the ideas cited in Comrade Mora Valverde's letter were expressed by Mao Tse-tung much earlier than 1959. In 1956 I attended the Eighth Congress of the C.P.C. as a member of the People's Vanguard Party delegation. There were representatives of a few more Latin American Communist parties, namely, so far as I remember, comrades from Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay and Uruguay.

After the Congress we were received by Mao Tse-tung who told us that he had differences with the head of state of another large Asian country, and had told him that in his (Mao's) opinion, atomic war would not annihilate all mankind; a considerable part would survive and would rebuild the world.

Mao Tse-tung also explained that the government and the Communist Party of China were in no hurry to have the C.P.R. admitted to the United Nations, because they had greater freedom of action and could act without fear of U.N. interference.

Mao also said that he was not against international tension because it sharpened vigilance with respect to imperialist actions against the socialist camp.

I should add that a representative of the Yugoslav League of Communists was also present as a guest at the Eighth Congress of the C.P.C., and that the Congress approved the policy of the C.P.S.U. with regard to the Stalin personality cult.

Then one more detail. After the Eighth Congress we made a tour of the country. We visited fourteen cities and many factories. In all the factories we visited we saw Soviet engineers at work. The Chinese comrades in those days were lavish in their praise of the Soviet aid. They expressed their gratitude to the Soviet Union and said that with Soviet aid China had grown into an industrial power in ten years. Soviet aid included industrial plant, training of Chinese personnel and large long-term credits. The workers at the factories we visited likewise spoke in glowing terms of the Soviet aid.

I recall the splendid bridge across the Yangtze at Wuhan, built under the supervision of Soviet engineers. The Chinese comrades said no Western country could build a bridge like that.

I just cannot understand why the C.P.C. leaders now deny the generous Soviet aid which they so extolled in 1956.

Alvaro Montero Vega

From "New Frontiers" to the "Tough Line"

(Crisis of Bourgeois Reformism in Latin America)

THE *coup d'état* in Brazil and the U.S. Administration's support of it heralded, in effect, the end of the Alliance for Progress in the form it had been conceived by Kennedy, heralded the end of Washington's policy of reforms for Latin America. This is the view held by the bulk of the bourgeois press and by the late President's immediate colleagues.

Quietly, without any beating of drums, the U.S. rulers are lowering the coffin of Kennedy's Alliance for Progress into its last resting place, the same Alliance whose birth three years ago was celebrated with much pomp and whose future was painted in such glowing colours.

What has happened since then, and why?

* * *

On March 13, 1961, six weeks after his inaugural address, Kennedy announced Washington's new programme of aid to Latin America—the "Alliance for Progress".

The very proclamation of the new programme was a sign of the deep-going crisis that bedevils the Latin American continent and Washington's Latin American policy.

The Good Old Times Only a short six or seven years ago the picture was quite different. After the Batista *coup*, the suppression of the revolution in Guatemala, the overthrow of the Vargas bourgeois-nationalist government in Brazil, and the concessions made by Peron to the North American monopolies, U.S. imperialism and its puppets seemed to be firmly entrenched on the continent. The revolutionary glow that had lit up the continent in the thirties and forties seemed to have been extinguished. In half of the countries of Latin America reactionary dictatorships had been installed with the blessing of the United States or with its direct support, and in most countries of the continent the Communist parties were banned. Languishing in a Batista prison at the time was the 27-year-old "rebel" Fidel Castro.

The U.S. monopolies and their government regarded Latin America as their luxuriant backgarden, as a profitable sphere of investment. Profits of American firms rose steadily. So did investments. Policy-makers in Washington gave as little thought to the peasant dying of starvation as they did to the prisoners dying under torture. Wall Street bankers were not particularly concerned about their ailing "younger brother"—the Latin American bourgeoisie. During 1948-55 U.S. "aid" to the Latin American countries was three times less than that to the countries of Africa and the Middle East, five times less than to the countries of Asia. In its Latin American bailiwick it was possible to use the big stick, the dollars were needed for the countries where the "Red danger" was greater.

Who would have thought at the time that before long only one of the many dictators would still be in the saddle, that the sum of new U.S. investment would drop practically to zero, and that a bare 90 miles from the United States the banner of the first socialist revolution in America would be flying!

New Times ". . . like gusts of dry wind before the storm, revolutionary currents are eddying across the region. . . . Latin American people no longer believe hollow promises of political, social and economic improvement. They are demanding concrete acts. All too frequently, violence is their weapon. . . . One top U.S. diplomat compares the ferment in Latin America today with the situation in Tsarist Russia in the period just before the Bolshevik revolution. . . . The Cuban example shows what can happen—a Communist-run country only 90 miles off shore. . . . Time is running out: if Latin America doesn't come to grips with its manifold problems within a few years, it may turn to radical solutions—a course that could threaten the U.S. directly" (*Business Week*, September 22, 1962). That is how U.S. capitalism saw the Latin American scene during the Kennedy Administration.

The socio-political crisis that gripped the Latin American continent towards the end of the fifties, the most profound crisis since the overthrow of Spanish rule, the words "mene, thekel, upharsin" written by the Cuban revolutionaries on the walls of imperialist and capitalist domination, imperatively demanded that the ruling classes of the two Americas find a quick and effective way of saving their rule. Of the variety of solutions offered, we shall speak of two basic variants.

The Big Stick — For and Against The ruling oligarchy (the latifundists, top bourgeoisie and military camarilla) and the U.S. monopolies claim that any changes affecting their interests will open the flood-gates of revolution. They see the way out of the crisis in propping up the present socio-political order by ruthlessly suppressing the revolutionary and democratic movement and by greater U.S. investment.

The policy of retaining a socio-political *status quo* by relying on a sufficiently powerful bloc of forces and on their traditional methods of suppression may offer temporary advantages to imperialism, create the semblance of a stable power, and temporarily check the growth of the revolutionary process. But in the long run it would be too dangerous, too risky for the basic interests of capitalism. For in the conditions of the growing maturity of the objective factors of revolution the continuation of such a policy creates the permanent threat of a revolutionary explosion that would completely destroy the existing order of things. The ruling strata's lack of a mass basis, the disintegration of the traditional semi-colonial foundations of Latin American society which are not being replaced by a new bourgeois foundation, the rickety framework of civilian society—all this carries with it the danger of a revolution which will not only quickly sweep away the feudal survivals but also the domination of U.S. imperialism and the unstable capitalist set-up so closely associated with it. Furthermore, the new balance of forces in the world and the requirements of the policy of peaceful co-existence now make direct U.S. intervention in such revolutions extremely difficult.

The Cuban revolution brought this home to those bourgeois politicans who, like Kennedy, were wise enough (up to a point, of course) to take into account certain lessons of history. Hence the Alliance of Progress.

"Preventive Revolution" and Latin American Reformism The aims of the Alliance were frankly expounded by its architects on more than one occasion—to isolate (and afterwards to destroy) revolutionary Cuba, to turn back the wave of revolution in Latin America, to win the "race against time" and, through reforms, to weaken the revolutionary potential of the continent; to create new and more stable socio-political systems, to transfer power to the bourgeoisie, who could rely on a certain mass basis, and then, within *this* framework, to promote certain economic progress and with it a higher standard of living. All this was to be accomplished of course without impinging on U.S. interests.

There is no denying that the neo-colonialist programme of the Alliance for Progress, its predominantly demagogic aspects notwithstanding, had been well thought out and contained elements of a new approach to the Latin American problems. Under this

programme it was planned to increase the volume of U.S. aid to that continent—$20,000 million over a ten-year period—principally for government projects. In other words, state-monopoly methods were to replace "unlimited private enterprise". It was planned to use the allocation directly in the interests of economic development and for raising the standard of living (average annual growth of the national income was to be 2.5 per cent per capita). But the most important and the new element in the programme was the refrain that there could be no progress in Latin America without far-reaching social and political reforms. ". . . Those who possess wealth and power in poor nations must accept their own responsibilities," declared Kennedy in March 1962. "They must lead the fight for those basic reforms which alone can preserve the fabric of their societies." The Alliance called for regimes of "representative democracy", stressed the need for agrarian reforms, for high taxes on those who "possess wealth", for mobilising, in the interests of economic progress, the capital which the big bourgeoisie of the continent were transferring to banks abroad. All this escaped the attention of the top oligarchy in the beginning, their ear had caught the long-awaited sound of dollars pouring in.

Thus, while the reactionaries and "reformists" basically pursued the same *aims*—to stem the tide of the people's revolution, reinforce the economic and political hegemony of the United States in Latin America—the same cannot be said of their *methods*. Suppression or disorientation of the masses; military dictatorship or constitutional democracy; reliance on the oligarchy or on the bourgeoisie as a whole; stagnation or reform—all looked quite different in theory.

What Kennedy had advanced was a programme of bourgeois reorganisation from the top, designed to forestall an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution by the masses. This was the solution he offered the Latin American bourgeoisie. Kennedy's proposal was enthusiastically welcomed by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reformists—from Bosch and Figueres to the Christian Democrats in Chile and the Right-wing Socialists in Argentina. The Alliance for Progress suited them, and their satisfaction was expressed with commendable frankness by Betancourt: "Aid to the poor in order to save the rich". Like themselves, the programme pinned great hopes on the "altruism" of the oligarchy, on the "goodness" of the exploiters.

Attitude of the Revolutionaries

What attitude did the Left, revolutionary forces take with regard to the Alliance for Progress? While stressing the neo-colonialist nature of this programme they at the same time noted its new elements. Examined in the abstract, some of the measures proposed by Kennedy and his brains trust were, objectively speaking, a step forward. They included proposals for which the progressive forces on the continent had waged a long struggle.

But none of this could be laid to the good will of the North American leaders, or to their suddenly developing a conscience. It was to the upswing of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America, which found its embodiment in the Cuban revolution, that the peoples of the continent would have been indebted for the advantages the Alliance would have brought them had it been carried out as originally planned. Secondly, revolutionaries cannot abstract themselves from the concrete situation which engendered this programme and which determined its immediate aims. ". . . . Historic situations arise," Lenin said, "when reforms, and particularly mere promises of reforms, pursue only *one* aim: to allay the unrest of the people, to force the revolutionary class to cease, or at least slacken, its struggle."[1] That exactly was the situation in Latin America at the beginning of the sixties. That is why the Left regarded the Alliance essentially as a manoeuvre designed to hamstring the struggle of the people for basic economic and political changes.

It by no means follows from this that revolutionaries, on the pretext that "the worse things are the better for us", relinquish the fight for reforms in conditions of a maturing revolutionary situation. In present-day Latin America reforms, more so than in any other part of the capitalist world, are a double-edged weapon. Although designed to stave off revolution they can, given certain objective conditions and the right tactics by the revolutionary forces, be used to accelerate revolution. In those instances where there

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[1] Lenin, *Lecture on the 1905 Revolution.*

is a real possibility of genuine reforms being realised revolutionaries never pursue a policy of "all or nothing".

But, as revolutionaries have stressed from the day the Alliance for Progress was proclaimed, the basic reforms which Latin America urgently needs cannot be put into effect without clashing with the domestic oligarchies and the North American monopolies. In other words, as things are today there can be no question of a broad programme of reforms through purely reformist methods and within bounds acceptable to imperialism.

Why the Alliance Failed

Developments in the subsequent three years have confirmed the conclusions drawn by the revolutionaries. On the first anniversary of the official inauguration of the Alliance (August 17, 1962), it was announced that in view of the not very comforting results, the date would not be observed. Later, there was talk about "failure", and afterwards about "burying" the Alliance. Today, Kennedy's programme of reforms is the property of the historian rather than the politician.

Latin American reality proved to be little suited for a "third way", for a "second edition of the Marshall Plan". In Western Europe the "stabilisation" of capitalism at the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties did not call for a new socio-economic basis (or, for that matter, a political superstructure); it was only a matter of restoring the old deep-rooted system of organisation which had been damaged but not destroyed. U.S. "economic aid" and the establishment of NATO, created the necessary conditions for this.

The Latin America of the sixties was a different proposition—and Kennedy realised this. He realised that the traditional order of things bolstered by American dollars could not revive the economy, could not ensure the interests of U.S. imperialism and of capitalism generally for any length of time. Hence the emphasis in the Alliance on reforms, on partial alterations in the traditional relations of property and government. Washington was able to carry out a similar programme in the specific conditions of postwar Japan. The Alliance might have been more successful in Latin America had it been dated 1951 instead of 1961. (This of course was unfeasible: the Alliance, owing to the very nature of the relations between Yankee imperialism and Latin America, could not have antedated the Cuban revolution.) But the revolutionary crisis and the victory of the Cuban revolution created a new situation on the continent: U.S. imperialism was no longer in control of developments. New prospects, new centres of attraction appeared, and also a real possibility of finding new solutions. This started a complex chain of cause-and-effect relationships as a result of which the bourgeois reformists in the two Americas found themselves incapable of carrying out even the most "innocent" and urgent social reforms.

Blows from the Right. Apropos the "Altruism" of the Oligarchy

In this situation the private, narrow-class interests of the monopolies, groups and oligarchies came into conflict with Kennedy's "supreme aim" (to forestall a social revolution and preserve capitalism in Latin America). The Alliance for Progress found itself under fire from the Right. The Latin American oligarchy flatly refused to sacrifice itself and relinquish its power; its spokesmen began to reproach and even to denounce the "ungrateful" U.S. government. The latifundists reacted to the proposal for agrarian reforms by threatening to nationalise the U.S. companies. The big bourgeoisie hastened to transfer their fortunes to Swiss banks. And so the programme of reforms foundered. To set it going, the resistance of the oligarchy had to be broken forcibly. But in the tense situation of the sixties, the Latin American reformists recoiled from this.

In the United States, meanwhile, the monopoly investors (or exporters) viewed the plans for agrarian reform (which could also affect their plantations) with extreme hostility and had no intention of losing any of their profits or of removing at least the worst consequences of the non-equivalent exchange. U.S. private capital as a whole, alarmed by what had happened to its investments in Cuba and by the spectre of revolution on the continent, kept out of Latin America and took a jaundiced view of the idea advanced in the programme to strengthen the competitive state-monopoly basis. The U.S. monopolies took an even more hostile attitude to the state-capitalist measures in Latin America, on which the Alliance was to rely and without which economic pro-

gress on the continent (under capitalism) was inconceivable. Obeying the same reflexes, congressmen and administrators obstructed state aid to Latin America, which they regarded as a "Danaides' sieve". As to the Pentagon, the C.I.A. and associated circles, they would not even hear of weakening the positions of the military and continued their usual policy of suppression.

Gradually a Rightist opposition took shape which at best regarded the Alliance for Progress as an expensive and risky undertaking and, at worst, as an attempt to bring socialism to the continent.

In the Grip of Contradictions In these conditions the futility of trying to separate the anti-feudal, anti-oligarchic and *anti-imperialist* trends of the democratic movement underlying the "new frontiers" concept, became more and more evident as time passed.

In Latin America the anti-imperialist struggle means a struggle directly against U.S. monopoly capital, against its policy, its military bases, etc. The Kennedy Administration's comparatively flexible neo-colonialist policy, which it applied in Asia and particularly in Africa, could not therefore be applied *here*, it being a policy which "accepted" neutralism and even allowed for certain economic aid to the progressive anti-imperialist governments (leaving aside the question of its aims). It would have meant waiving to some extent the direct interests of U.S. monopolies and the Pentagon in Latin America, and this Washington could not afford even in the "common interest" of preventing revolution. Moreover, it was not long before doubts arose regarding the extent to which the proposed reforms would ensure this "common interest" in view of revolutionary ferment.

It would be too risky, at the height of the revolutionary ferment, to alienate formerly reliable allies—the vehicles of power and wealth, the "guarantors of stability", etc.—and to dabble in reforms, especially considering that the ruling classes of the continent lacked the necessary experience. The bourgeoisie in the majority of the countries was too weak, and the danger that the anti-imperialist forces would use for revolutionary purposes the "fluid situation", the "change of guard", was too great. It would have been highly dangerous at that moment to awaken the hopes of formerly downtrodden and passive masses with promises of reforms and thus whet their appetites and stimulate their activity only to be in the position of a debtor unable to meet the bill.

Finally, the Alliance for Progress's immediate aim—that is opposition to revolutionary Cuba—clashed with its long-range aims. Inasmuch as the reckless tendencies of the Pentagon and the C.I.A. gained the upper hand in this matter, the very logic of the struggle dictated a close alliance with the forces whose interests would have been hurt by the envisaged reforms, a break with the liberals (who might have supported the reforms but who were by no means eager to join in a "holy alliance" against Cuba), and the application of administrative, propaganda and other methods incompatible with the proclaimed aims of the Alliance. Leading up to this was the bitter struggle waged against the revolutionary forces in which the difference between the "egg-heads" of the Kennedy brain trust and the Pentagon-C.I.A. "diehards" became indistinguishable at times.

In the final analysis the reformist methods proved incapable of holding back for any length of time the revolutionary wave in the different countries of the continent. The reverse was the case. The Left forces, particularly in the leading countries of South America, began to use the fight for democracy and reforms in the interests of the revolution.

Thus, the programme of bourgeois reorganisation of Latin America, effected from the top without impinging on the interests of imperialism, found itself caught in the vice of insoluble contradictions: growing resistance from the Right and the constant threat of popular revolution from the Left, lack of the necessary means and the urgent need to find solutions, narrowness of the social base and the existence of socialist Cuba. All these factors became intertwined, the one affecting the other and ultimately leading to the crisis of the Alliance for Progress.

The Balance Sheet for Three Years As a consequence, despite the fact that Latin America's share in Washington's "aid programmes" increased from 7 per cent in 1946-60 to 25 per cent in 1961-62, growth of per capita production was a mere 0.8 per cent in 1962 and 1963 (instead of the planned 2.5 per cent). The

profits siphoned out of the continent by the U.S. monopolies continued to be far in excess of Washington's aid.

The economic crisis in the leading countries continued to grow sharper. It was obvious by now that the economic aspects of the Alliance programme had failed. The conference of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council in Sao Paulo (November 1963) which discussed the various proposals for reshaping the Alliance showed this. Practically all commentators agreed that the conference pulled "the shroud" over the "expiring plan".

An even greater fiasco awaited the Alliance's *political* reforms. The oligarchies, scared at the prospect of losing power, stepped up their activities with the active support of the North American "tough liners". The bourgeoisie in the majority of the Latin American countries, who were every bit as scared at the prospect of a popular revolution, had no intention of standing on the captain's bridge when the storm broke; when the struggle reached fever point they practically everywhere took cover under the bayonets and machine-guns of the military, joined forces with the oligarchy, and were least of all concerned with "preventive revolution". The politicians who had pledged to carry out the Alliance programme, more and more often copied the policy of the reactionaries, or, failing that, were overthrown by the latter. The year 1961 saw one military *coup*, 1962 saw three, and 1963 four; 1964 brought with it the suppression of bourgeois democracy in the largest country of Latin America. In short, the "third way" ended in a blind alley or merged with the welltrodden track of the oligarchy. The reformist intellectuals who carried out the Alliance's policy, or at least formally adhered to the norms of bourgeois democracy, found themselves abandoned time and again by the bourgeoisie, i.e., by the very class whose basic common interests they had voiced and defended. The overthrow of the Bosch government in September 1963—the most consistent champion of "representative democracy"—clearly demonstrated the crisis in this policy: the Dominican Republic had for a long time been considered the Alliance for Progress's "show window".

Assassination of Kennedy and the Political Volte-Face It is hard to say what conclusions Kennedy himself would have drawn from the crisis in his policy. He, apparently, sincerely believed in it and looked for new and, perhaps, more realistic ways of putting it into effect (in particular, by establishing a *modus vivendi* with revolutionary Cuba). His refusal to recognise the "gorrillacrat" governments in the Dominican Republic and Honduras came as a gleam of hope to the supporters of the "third way". But it is clear that the tragic death of the "new frontier" President, which it may be assumed was directly connected with the hostility shown by the "ultras" for his Latin American policy, gave political encouragement to the supporters of the "tough line".

Recognition of the governments of the Dominican Republic and Honduras a bare three weeks after the Kennedy assassination, and the concentration of all the levers of Washington's Latin American policy in the hands of the reactionary Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas C. Mann, were the first symptoms of the switch to the new line. The events in Panama were an instance of this line in action. The line was further elucidated by Mann in an off-the-record policy statement on March 16 at a top-level Washington conference of U.S. diplomats in Latin America. ("It would no longer try to bar Rightist *coups*, but hold anti-red line", was the sub-head under which the *New York Times* reported the political volte-face.) As things were on the continent, Mann declared, it was difficult to make a distinction between democracy and dictatorship; the fight to contain communism and the protection of U.S. investments were, he said, the principal aims of Washington's policy in Latin America. Although he said something about promoting the continent's economic progress, there was not a word about reforms.

Seen in this context, the Administration's attitude during the Brazil *coup* was clearly one of "dotting the i's and crossing the t's".

The State Department's statement of March 29, 1964, was in fact a call to overthrow the constitutional regime of Goulart. The U.S. President congratulated the putschists literally a few hours after the *coup*. What is more, the *coup* was hailed as an example of the desire to resolve the economic and political difficulties within the framework

of constitutional democracy. "This policy (the Kennedy policy—*E.B., C.M.*), it seems," we read in one of the April issues of *Le Monde*, "has been abandoned for the sake of another, opposite policy which lumps together reformists and revolutionaries—who are all regarded either as Communists or as Castroites—and seeks to preserve the existing order of things with the least possible change. Since this order is being contested more and more and is bound to be overthrown in conditions of democracy, it is being maintained by force, i.e., by military dictatorships. It was announced in recent official declarations (by the U.S. Administration—*E.B., C.M.*) that the 'good' generals would be given every support. The Brazil putsch was the first application of this declaration in practice".

In other words, it is a question of going back to the traditional "tough" policy (to avoid unpleasant associations it is now described as a "realistic" policy). True, the Alliance for Progress formula will continue to figure for a long time yet in speeches and declarations, the administrative machinery of the Alliance will continue to operate for a time and the allocations at its disposal will in all probability not be curtailed. But this will not alter the substance of the matter. "Reforms within the framework of democracy," that is how the original idea of Kennedy's Latin American policy was formulated. Rejection of the policy of bourgeois reforms, of bourgeois democracy, of "revolution from the top" spells the end of this policy.

The Future of Reformist Programmes

It would be a mistake to assume that Washington's policy in Latin America will henceforth be based exclusively on force, on support of the "gorillas". The revolutionary forces realise that the extent to which imperialism is able to manoeuvre depends on the intensity of the revolutionary struggle; they take into account the fact that there are bound to be variations of the "third way", and in the first place variations that combine the elements of a military dictatorship with certain formal attributes of "representative democracy" and with reforms allowing for some economic progress without hurting the interests of the ruling classes. (Reforms of this kind were carried out in Russia after the 1905 revolution by the tsarist Minister Stolypin. Lenin described them as the "last safety valve".)

It is not at all improbable that Kennedy's political line (and also the people who carried it out) will again be used by U.S. imperialism, depending on the situation. It is also possible that this line will continue to shape U.S. policy in the few countries of the continent where the power and the influence of the traditional oligarchy have been undermined or destroyed (in Mexico, for example). Some Kennedy supporters in the United States (in particular, Senator Fulbright), anxious to carry forward his ideas in the light of the latest developments, are even talking about the inevitability of the forcible overthrow of the oligarchies.

There is also the likelihood that the men who raised the banner of the Alliance for Progress will not abandon their former positions. The motives that engendered the programme are still alive; the social groups which until recently supported it have not given up their aims. The latest developments might also strengthen the bourgeois (and petty-bourgeois) reformist trends and groups seeking to carry out certain changes, including changes likely to affect the interests of the U.S. monopolies, without the blessing of Washington and despite its opposition. It may be that some of these groups and politicians will turn to the imperialist circles of Western Europe for support, while others might prefer a "meeting" with the mass revolutionary movement.

The "Tough Line" Perspectives

And so the millstones of history have destroyed the illusions regarding the Alliance for Progress, have scattered the husks of the promises and half-hearted decisions and have laid bare the real state of affairs. The prospect of radical changes on the continent, changes demanded by the people, impelled the men of "wealth and power" to take the way of suppression and social conservation. The top men in Washington also thought it better to support (and impose) reactionary military dictatorships, to rely chiefly on the old ruling castes.

It is true that the history of Latin America (in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century) knows of cases when dictators who voiced the interests of the oligarchies and who relied on the army and foreign support were able to cling to power for many years. But such "stagnant" situations were due to the social and economic level of

development at the time, a level which most of the Latin American countries have left far behind. Today powerful social forces have made their appearance, forces that cannot be kept indefinitely in a state of passive obedience.

These factors are lost sight of by those who, panicstricken by the reverses suffered by the democratic forces in Latin America, have reached the conclusion that a period of ultra-reactionary dictatorships has again set in on the continent. Such people see the revolutionary processes as something developing smoothly, along straight lines, without the zigzags caused by the dialectical nature of social development.

The establishment of ultra-reactionary regimes undoubtedly makes it much more difficult for the progressive forces to carry on the struggle, but it does not change the deep-going trends of revolutionary development. The people are going through a quick training course in the school of the class and the anti-imperialist struggle. They are beginning to realise that the only way is that of the radical and revolutionary destruction of the old socio-political systems. The ranks of the fighters will now be reinforced by those who only yesterday were still deceived by the "siren song" about the possibility of democratic changes without a revolution and by "mutual consent".

History has already passed sentence on the order of things in the Latin American countries. The attempts made by the reformists to mitigate this sentence have ended in failure. So, too, will attempts to nullify it with a burst of machine-gun fire. Those who today are celebrating the victory of the "order" in Brazil (and also those who have fallen into despair as a consequence of recent events) would do well to remember that a few years ago in another country of Latin America the favourites in uniform also tried to stop the march of history by "closing the safety valve" and destroying the remnants of democracy. . . .

That country was Cuba.

E. Barrera
C. Medina

Cultural Work Among the Masses and the Political Struggle

Cultural work among the masses plays an important part in the activity of the Communist and Workers' parties. The extensive use of the various forms of mass propaganda, including what is known as "mass culture", its influence on the most diverse social sections poses problems of the shaping of the spiritual and cultural outlook of the working people, of the fight for a truly democratic and mass culture in conditions of capitalism. Below we publish materials on this subject sent to the Editorial Board by comrades in Italy, Finland, Iceland and France.

ITALY. There are many new aspects to the problem of mass culture in present-day Italy, and the Communist Party is, accordingly, well to the fore in tackling the matter.

Indeed, confronted with the rapid spread of mass culture, mainly as a result of the modern propaganda media (television, cinema, pulp magazines), it would be a grave mistake to regard it as being due entirely to monopoly development, to a desire to turn culture solely into a business and profit-making enterprise and hence to consider this as proof of the decline of culture, of the alienation of capitalist culture. The Communist Party was quick to appreciate that the spread of mass culture in present-day Italy was a highly complex matter and that the Communists must actively participate in it. This is a process in which on the one hand the hegemony of the monopolies is still evident and, on the other, the impact of the popular and democratic movement, which is accelerating the crisis in the old conservative culture by introducing its own subjects, its own views in the theatre, cinema and literature. It is to the credit of the Party that it approached this problem correctly not only from the ideological aspect but also organisationally. While the development of the more topical cultural media (television, the cinema, publications) still takes place within the framework of monopoly domination, they have, nevertheless, become powerful weapons in the hands of the democratic forces.

Let us examine some concrete instances. Take the cinema, for example. It is generally recognised that most of our more successful films, those on anti-fascist and democratic themes and exposing bourgeois society, are profoundly democratic productions and as such are an effective contribution to spreading culture among the masses. There is nothing accidental about this; it is the result in large measure of our Party's correct policy in this sphere, of its consistent defence of cultural freedom.

The Party rendered concrete and effective assistance to the democratic cinema. Last year, for example, film co-operatives made a number of full-length films and documentaries on special themes (for example, *Togliatti Has Returned*) and some shorts on the election campaign made directly by the Party were shown in towns and villages with the use of portable projectors.

Although all these measures are effective and useful, they are, nonetheless, accessible only to a relatively small number of people, mostly Party sympathisers. It was therefore decided to produce, beginning with May 1963, a *World Newsreel*, made after the script by Cesare Zavattini by a group of producers—professional and amateur. The purpose of this newsreel is to bring home to the public the danger of nuclear war. *World Newsreel* No. 1 was shown throughout the country, thus bringing the message of democracy and progress to much larger sections of the public.

The Party also appears on the radio and television, both of which are State controlled. Italy has approximately three million televiewers and it hardly needs saying that television is a most effective means of propaganda. The Party participates in the more popular TV programmes, as for example *Political Tribune*, where spokesmen for the Party present their views and answer questions put by journalists.

There are many obstacles in the way, of course, and the Party very often has to protest in Parliament as a consequence of the bias in television and radio programmes. However, thanks to the mass pressure a special parliamentary commission has been formed, including deputies from the different parties, to ensure unbiased television and radio programmes. And although the commission has not always been able to achieve the necessary objectivity, it has succeeded in preventing the grosser forms of misinformation.

Mention should also be made of the Party's publishing activities in bringing culture to the masses. It has several big publishing houses, among them *Editori Riuniti*, one of the biggest in the country and highly esteemed. Its books are sold in all the big book stores and, through its agents, directly in factories and offices, in the mass organisations and in Party branches.

Other cultural measures of the Party include classes for abolishing illiteracy, lectures and debates on cultural and political subjects, circulation of the daily and weekly press, sponsoring exhibitions, and so on. The purpose of these measures is to prevent the monopolies and the bourgeoisie from having the exclusive right to determine the trend of the mass culture, to ensure the active participation in the cultural work by the democratic and, particularly, communist forces who, using all the new opportunities and means, will impart to it progressive forms and a progressive content.

M. Masi

FINLAND. The early years of the working-class movement in Finland show that the growth of the political movement was accompanied by cultural activity. Various cultural committees, brass bands, choirs, dramatic societies and literary circles were formed for the purpose of meeting the cultural needs of the workers. Many people joined the movement through these cultural organisations, which inspired the workers with confidence and courage during the dark years of political persecution.

The Communist Party and the democratic movement have remained true to these traditions. The era of technological progress and the new means of communication making for broader contacts between peoples, have brought with them a variety of new forms of work on the cultural front, and, consequently new tasks. Whereas in the past our principal task in the cultural field was to bring knowledge to the masses, to satisfy their cultural needs, today our main job is to safeguard the national culture, to protect it against corruption and decadence through which big capital seeks to distort our national culture and the popular taste.

We have 354 clubs and 84 open-air concert stages whose functions are co-ordinated and directed by a special cultural centre. There is, in addition, a special society of worker's organisations which engages artists for concerts during working-class festivals,

supplies the various amateur art groups with all they need, arranges classes for the group leaders and enlists professional artists and other theatre workers for this activity.

In speaking of the mass cultural work, particular mention should be made of the cinema. We have a film centre which has a stock of more than 500 films. These are mostly films from the socialist countries, but they also include films made by our own parties and by the People's Democratic Union. Our object is to acquaint the amateur art societies with the history of the cinema, the new trends in film-making, and to arrange regular production of 16-millimetre films. Because of financial difficulties we have not been able to develop this work properly and to produce the scientific films which we sorely need. This is one of the big shortcomings in our cultural work.

While the cinema has made big inroads into the work of the dramatic societies, the latter are still doing good work. At present 28 dramatic societies are functioning, producing about 75 plays a year. At the beginning of the year we had a contest for the best sketch on a topical social theme. Many famous playwrights and authors took part; 74 sketches were submitted, quite a few of which will be included in the repertoires of our dramatic societies. We also arrange contests between them for the best performance. Our cultural societies also invite actors from local theatres to perform at our conferences. Many of Brecht's plays and plays by Finnish authors on aspects of the working-class struggle, also the Soviet play *An Irkutsk Story*, were shown in this way. The Palace of Culture in Helsinki regularly invites actors from other cities, thus giving them the opportunity to appear before the audiences of the capital.

Besides the film and dramatic societies, the big clubs have their fine arts, literary, photography, and other groups—in all 300. Many of the clubs have excellent libraries. Of course, there is much room for improvement but by and large the various societies are doing fine work as, for example, the fine arts group in the Helsinki Palace of Culture. In their annual report for 1961 the leaders of the group wrote: "The group meets twice weekly. It is conducted by the well-known artists Sven Grönvall, Tapio Tapiovaara, Mauri Faven and Mauri Heinonen. Once a week they paint in oils. During the summer months special two-week classes were arranged for the members. In the spring 16 members went to Leningrad where they visited the Hermitage. In August there was a three-week's tour of Lapland. In autumn we arranged an exhibition at which 29 works by 9 members of the group were on display. Five lectures were held on the subject of art. The forty members of the group held seven meetings and social evenings, and visited six exhibitions."

The members and teachers of this group organised a mobile exhibition of their work. On view in the bigger clubs, it has aroused the interest of the public and the local press.

One of the more widespread forms of our cultural work, especially among the youth, are amateur talent groups in which thousands of people participate. These are mostly song and dance groups which compose their own songs on topical and often political themes to the tune of folk melodies. The companies are popular all over the country. We also have our own choirs, orchestras and soloists. Members of our democratic youth have on repeated occasions been awarded first prizes at amateur contests. Our societies and clubs, where films are shown and debates held, are open to all. Still, their work is of a rather restricted character; to remedy this we intend to hold more frequently debates on cultural matters. Recently a successful evening of poetry reading was held in Helsinki at which two poets whose works had just appeared, read their poems and replied to questions. Every year we hold a Progressive Literature Week during which we arrange book exhibitions.

While our success in this area is indisputable, the Party realises that our mass cultural work is as yet not on the requisite level, considering that the working-class movement is constantly confronted with difficulties in its attempts to develop new forms of cultural work. Needless to say we can benefit from the experience of other fraternal parties in this sphere.

Anna-Liisa Hyvönen

ICELAND. The problem of what is known nowadays as "mass culture", its character and trends has confronted with particular force democratic public opinion everywhere. With growing frequency alarmed voices are heard to the effect that the market is being flooded with hack work, that the cultural recreation of the working people, the books they read and the films they see have been farmed out to bourgeois entrepreneurs.

This problem is most acute in small countries like Iceland, for example, where it directly concerns the very existence and further development of the national culture. This explains why problems of culture occupy much of the attention of the United Socialist Party of Iceland.

Iceland is renowned for her rich and ancient literature; even since the 13th century her people have carefully preserved the literary works of the tribal system, which were a source of support for them during the dark ages of foreign rule.

The isolation of the country and its poverty were not conducive to the efflorescence of, say, music or the fine arts; hence literature became the expression of the spiritual life of the people.

For this reason the work of the Party in the realm of culture is associated primarily with literature and book publishing. In the thirties an association of revolutionary writers was formed, which in its annual, *Red Feathers*, popularises Marxist ideas. This tradition is carried on by the "Language and Culture" society, headed by that tireless enthusiast, Kristinn Anderésson, and enjoying the support of many of the best Icelandic writers—Laxness, Thordarson and others.

In Iceland book publishing is an extremely difficult undertaking in view of the small population: book circulation is small and the cost of books high. To overcome these difficulties, "Language and Culture" organised a publishing house functioning on a subscription basis: for a small fee readers annually receive a good selection of books and the society's journal which has the reputation of being the best socio-literary journal in the country. At the same time an opportunity was found to publish and distribute books formerly dismissed by other publishers as either "Red propaganda" or unprofitable.

The society has made an impact on the public life of the country, due to the fact that it has never limited itself to publishing good books for their own sake. It has published works by both Icelandic and foreign authors designed to make people think, to impel them to ponder over the social conditions of life, and to indicate ways and means of solving vital problems.

It is to the credit of the society that it has organically linked up the social struggle with the struggle for untrammelled national independence. It should be borne in mind that in our country political struggle is closely linked with the struggle for culture, notably for mass culture.

Maintaining a living contact between literature and the masses has been particularly important in recent years. Should this contact slacken, the very foundations of Icelandic culture would be shaken. Our nation is so small numerically that our culture can only be a culture of all the people. It cannot be confined to the relatively narrow section of the intelligentsia, for this could be disastrous. So that today with the influx of low-grade literature, of a more than dubious Western filmdom, at the time of an onslaught of Americanism, the cultural and political activity of the "Language and Culture" society is vitally important.

The society's part in popularising socialist and patriotic ideas among the public and especially among intellectuals can hardly be overestimated. It should be stressed that the society derives its prestige from its attitude to the complex problems of modern creative work, from its broad and impartial elucidation of these problems.

It is also interesting to note the reaction to the society in bourgeois circles which raised a hue and cry about culture being "in the hands of the Reds". They opened a publishing house exactly patterned on "Language and Culture". Needless to say, it mostly serves reactionary ends, but the fact that they were compelled to accept our challenge and engage in rivalry on the literary front is significant, helping to enhance interest in cultural life and to enliven it.

Thus, the main struggles of the socialist movement in Iceland on the cultural front are in the sphere of literature. This is both natural and important in a country in which there is a library in every house. But today we can say that this is not enough, for our time requires that we extend the field of our activity also to the cinema, theatre and to the other arts.

Arni Bergmann

FRANCE. Communist intellectuals play an active role in the national culture, in spreading it among the people. Relying on the rich national traditions and drawing inspiration from all which is best and progressive in the world, our writers, artists and film workers have made their contribution to the common treasure-house of culture in recent years.

French Communist writers have written a large number of important works. Among outstanding recent publications are the *History of the U.S.S.R.* by Aragon and *The Red Square* by Courtade. Gamarra, Stil, Daix, Pozner, Kanapa and others have likewise written interesting books.

Communist writers are active in the National Writers' Committee founded during the occupation and uniting men of letters of various trends. An important part in this committee is played by Elsa Triolet whose latest book, *The Soul*, was received with keen interest. The annual book bazaars organised by the Committee are big events in the cultural life of the country. Mention should also be made of the readers' conferences in factories held on the initiative of Communist writers. Aragon, Stil, Wurmser and other authors attend these conferences.

Recent years have seen important advances in the theatre. In the Paris area, for example, the Communist municipalities, soon to be followed by others, initiated theatrical performances—drama, variety and chorus, and symphony concerts—in the suburbs.

Towns like St. Denis and Aubervilliers have founded their own theatres. For the 90th anniversary of the Paris Commune Arthur Adamov's *Spring of the Year '71* was shown in St. Denis, and in Aubervilliers, Strindberg's *Charles XII*. Other municipalities, following the example of Villejuif, have held art festivals.

Thanks to the workers' municipalities the theatre, hitherto accessible only to those who had the money to travel to Paris, is now within the reach of larger numbers of working people.

Jean Vilar and the National People's Theatre, later followed by other theatres in the big provincial towns, notably Théatre de la Coté in Villeurbanne directed by R. Planchon, have done much to popularise theatrical art among the working people both by choosing plays (classical as well as modern, in particular, plays by Brecht) and by reasonably cheap tickets, and arranging a convenient time of the performances. Our Party has always supported efforts like those of the National People's Theatre, in which the unforgettable image of Cid in Corneille's play of the same title was created by the late Gerard Philippe.

Communist film producers—J. P. Lechanois, L. Daquin, A. Fabbiani, M. Douy and others—have made a number of interesting films. The crisis that has now gripped the film industry, while causing redundancy and creating other difficulties, deprives talented producers of the possibility to make the films the people are expecting from them.

Communist telecasters have helped in creating interesting programmes. Stellio Lorenzi, for example, won popularity as the producer of a series of programmes entitled "The Camera Explores the Time" and of the play *Montserrat*. Viewers also know the names of J. P. Marchand, Roger Kahann, J. Nahum and many others.

In music Louis Durey, Jean Wiener, Joseph Kosma, Philippe Gerard, Francois Lemarque and others have composed songs which are widely known both in France and throughout the world. Records put out by Le Chant du Monde have helped to popularise good songs and classical French music and acquainted the public with the music of other countries, notably of the Soviet Union.

Special mention should be made of the fine arts, sculpture and tapestry. In recent years Picasso, Jean Lurçat, Pignon and dozens of others—have created excellent works.

The Fine Arts Association uniting artists of all outlooks and schools enables them to get in touch with the people by organising art salons and exhibitions. Contacts of this kind enrich both the artist and the public.

Speaking about fine arts, it is necessary to stress the role played by a group known as the "Cercle d'Art". Not long ago, on the occasion of the Delacroix centenary, it produced an album of the works of this great artist. This work along with many others has advanced the "Cercle d'Art" to one of the first places in the sphere of art publishing.

To complete this general review of the work in art and literature carried out by Communist intellectuals mention should be made of the other Party members who attend choirs, folk dance groups, etc.

For example, the Paris Folk Choir and the People's Musical Federation, which arranges mass festivals, are working hard to acquaint people with the heritage of folk songs. In the same way the organisations "Work and Culture" and "Leisure and Holidays for the Youth" enable the workers and office employees, especially young people, to see and appreciate good plays.

Although the conditions of life (overstrain, housing shortage, furious speed-up and long working hours) as well as the shortage of recreation facilities are not conducive to the spread of culture, notable progress has nevertheless been made in recent years.

Our Party, its members and organisations and especially its municipalities, are working actively in this area. The cultural activity of the St. Denis municipality, which recently organised an excellent exhibition on the work of the poet Eluard was an example to both Communist and other municipalities. The municipal councils of Malakoff, Ivry, Saint-Ouen, and others, have established cultural centres with libraries, reading rooms, collections of records and auditoriums. They arrange lectures, concerts, art exhibitions and theatrical performances. They also have amateur theatrical and choral groups and groups for studying foreign languages.

Thus, new perspectives are being opened for a more extensive spread of culture. Not only the well-known writers and artists but also a growing number of rank-and-file intellectuals take part in raising the cultural standards of the people.

Louis Baillot

Exchange of Views

The Socialist World System of Economy and the Laws Governing its Development [1]

III. The Levelling up Tendency in the Economic Development of the Socialist Countries

THE typical feature of the socialist world-economic system, a feature stemming from the very nature of the socialist mode of production, is the levelling up tendency in the economic development of the member countries. Speakers at the symposium dealt with this problem at length.

The levelling up process, said LASZLO HAY (Hungary), is a product of the socialist relations of production, like the law of rapid growth of production and the law of proportional and planned development. Rapid growth and planning, on the one hand, and the levelling up process, on the other, are closely related. In other words, all the factors that help to create the most favourable proportions of extended reproduction in terms of the socialist world system and to accelerate the development of the relatively backward countries also help the levelling up process.

ALEXEI RUMYANTSEV (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) noted the connection between the objective levelling up tendency and the operation of the basic economic law of socialism. Ideally, Rumyantsev said, the basic law of socialism presupposes the same level of development for all socialist countries because that is the only way to secure an equally complete satisfaction of the vital requirements of all members of society and their harmonious development. As yet this economic equality does not exist. Levels differ from country to country. Yet their economies cannot draw closer unless the disparities are removed. No nation can reconcile itself to permanent backwardness, least of all under socialism. It is imperative, therefore, for the socialist countries to overcome, gradually, the differences in their development by way of voluntary co-operation and mutual aid. That, Rumyantsev continued, is the reason behind the specific features we observe in the operation of the basic economic law of socialism in the socialist world system.

"Elimination of differences in the levels of the socialist countries is an economic law,

[1] Conclusion.

which, among other things, is typical for the socialist world system," stressed ION RACHMUTH (Rumania).

The operation of this law, he said, tends gradually to eliminate the disparities and to create the resources for a more or less simultaneous transition to communism by all the socialist nations. Building communism on a world scale, he added, is inconceivable as long as countries are classified as industrial and agrarian, developed and undeveloped.

Speakers also noted that, like most other laws, the law of economic equalisation operated as a tendency. Some factors, HAY said, tend to stimulate it, and others to obstruct it. We should not, therefore, expect it to operate automatically. To promote the tendency, Hay added, we should take advantage of it and of all other objective laws of socialism, and guide the economic processes in the various national economies, and internationally, according to plan.

The same point was made by DAMIRANZHAVYN ZAGASBALDAN (Mongolia). He noted that like all other economic processes under socialism the evening out of the various economies was a matter of planning and organisation. What the various socialist countries had for their point of departure in the evening up process was the legacy inherited from capitalism. Most of the socialist countries were backward before the revolution, being little more than agrarian appendages and suppliers of raw materials to the big imperialist powers.

Speakers showed that the socialist countries had made good progress in approximating their social relations and economic levels. But, substantial disparities still remained. ION RACHMUTH pointed out in his communication that in 1960 industrial output per head of population in Czechoslovakia was roughly 110 per cent that of the German Democratic Republic, Poland's was 60, Hungary's 55, Rumania's 36 and Bulgaria's 33 per cent.

It follows, Rachmuth continued, that economic equalisation is still a practical challenge for the countries of the socialist system. It is important, therefore, to understand its workings. Speakers dwelt at length on this problem. HAY expressed the view that the equalisation process, like the economic level, should be gauged by the following key indices:

— the share of the socialist sector in the national income; national income per head of population; national income per person engaged in productive labour;
— the share of industry in the national economy;
— labour productivity;
— electric-power consumption per industrial worker;
— structure of industry; ratio of "A" to "B" industries; capacity of the industries contributing to rapid growth of the productive forces;
— education levels; ratio of skilled workers, specialists with a university education and of scientists and research workers to total gainfully employed;
— crop yields per 100 hectares; output of livestock products per 100 hectares and, last but not least, key indices of the standard of living.

The method of computing these indices, Hay said, is still being worked out (though good results have been achieved). We need a standard method, he added, so that international comparisions could be made. The hardest to select are the indices of the living standard, since this is greatly affected by differences in natural conditions, local custom and other subjective factors. Still, Hay added, objective indices can be found.

The building of socialism does not necessarily signify all-round levelling up. In view of the many different aspects of social development, and for political reasons as well, socialist countries may announce that they have laid the foundations of socialism, or that they have completed building socialism, at different stages in their development. However, these stages should have some basic indices in common. And these will also show the advances made in the levelling up.

Some speakers referred to the difficulties involved in elucidating the problem of economic equalisation.

"We have reached the point," ZAGASBALDAN said, "where we need to be more precise about the concepts 'level of social development' and 'level of economic development,' and this in turn calls for comparable economic and cultural indicators."

"In analysing questions related to equalisation," said JAN KOTKOVSKY (U.S.S.R.),

"we should bear in mind that besides current estimates, we shall also have to make advance and comparable estimates based on available figures. You will recall that the index for the physical growth of Soviet industrial output computed in Soviet prices will differ from the same index computed for the Soviet Union in the prices of another country."

What would the advance estimates show?

Approximation and levelling up of the economic potentials of the socialist countries are an expression of the law of planned proportional development operating on the international socialist scene.

"According to our tentative long-term targets," Kotkovsky went on, "by 1980 industrial output of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid will be six times the 1960 figure, with agricultural output rising three-fold and national income five-fold. Tentative estimates based on the long-term programmes of these countries show that by 1980 their economic levels will have drawn closer. Aggregate Soviet industrial output per head of population is likely to be fairly close to that of the German Democratic Republic and level with that of Czechoslovakia, while the gap between Bulgaria's output and that of the Soviet Union will, obviously, have narrowed. Soviet farm output per capita is approaching that of Bulgaria and in all probability will still be close to it in the eighties."

Speakers also examined the sources and factors expediting the evening up of economic levels in the socialist countries.

"The first and vital condition for the rapid development of the relatively backward countries," HAY stressed, "is to make the most of the advantages accruing from the socialist system of economy and continuously to improve the socialist methods of production. Two things facilitate the evening up process—home resources and co-operation with the other socialist countries."

It is up to the socialist countries to marshal all their resources for this purpose, to tap the as yet unused natural resources; to make more efficient use of plant; more rational employment and allocation of manpower; to make full use of the advantages of large-scale socialist farming; improve the structure of industry and agriculture, and improve planning, organisation and management.

"But it is not enough just to marshal home resources," Hay concluded. "Building the most desirable economic structure and attaining high productivity of labour is inconceivable unless the inter-country co-operation is expanded."

The speakers agreed that the edge in different rates of growth should go to the relatively less developed countries, this being an important element of the evening up process.

"Faster rates of industrial growth in those socialist countries that inherited a relatively poor economic potential from the bourgeoisie stand out against the background of the rapid growth rate of the socialist system as a whole," said EUGENI MATEYEV (Bulgaria).

But, as previous speakers pointed out, the advantage which the less developed socialist countries have in rate of growth does not alter the objective general law of swift rates of growth in the socialist community as a whole.

It is widely believed, said S. PERVUSHIN (U.S.S.R.), that as the scale of production increases it becomes more difficult to maintain the growth at its previous rate, since every per cent of increment represents a much greater physical volume.

"I think," Pervushin went on, "that this is only partly true, since it is harder to make full use of production capacity when the scale of production keeps growing and the production-technological links become more complex. But what it really implies is that standards of management and planning should be improved continuously, to keep pace with growth of output."

As to the objective side of the question, Pervushin continued, the difficulties caused by the growing scale of production are more than recompensed by the better conditions it creates for sustained rapid rates of growth (accumulation of national resources, funds and skilled personnel offer splendid opportunities for modernising the plant, altering the industrial structure, and so on).

For the purpose of ensuring swift rates of growth socialist society has a permanently operating factor in the continuously growing socialisation of production through division of labour, specialisation, co-operation, co-ordination, establishing firms, and improving management and planning.

"Increasing the rate of growth in the Mongolian People's Republic," said ZAGASBALDAN, "is essentially *a matter of attaining a faster rate of development than that in the developed socialist countries.*"

The rate of industrial growth in Mongolia, he said, has been lower than that for the socialist camp as a whole (in relation to 1950). Only in the past two years has the lag been eliminated, enabling us to surpass the rate for the community as a whole.

A further *rapid increase in labour productivity in all branches of the economy* is needed to maintain a sufficiently rapid rate of economic and cultural development and to narrow the gap between Mongolia and the more developed socialist countries.

At present, the speaker said, labour productivity is still considerably below that of the more developed socialist countries. Its rate of growth, too, is slower. It will be more difficult therefore for the relatively backward Mongolian economy to achieve and maintain the required swift rate of extended reproduction unless the rate of accumulation and its volume are substantially increased.

This gives rise to one of the main and most complex problems of Mongolia's development, namely, to make greater use of the existing sources for accumulation, to find new sources, and to maintain a rapid rate of socialist accumulation.

In the past farming was the chief source. To a certain extent this is also true today. However, we are now at the point of consolidating the new co-operative system, and farming itself requires considerable financial aid from the state.

In view of the country's present economic structure, only limited funds can be set aside in the budget for accumulation. Foreign trade accounts for about half of the budget revenue. But about three-quarters of exports consist of farm products, including livestock. The remainder consists of manufactured goods, mainly industrially processed agricultural raw materials. Only some ten per cent of this item of export consists of processed products of the extracting industry. For home trade to furnish funds for accumulation, the country would need primarily a large amount of manufactured goods.

The country has to be industrialised before it can solve the problem of sources of accumulation. That calls for heavy investments, and the Mongolian People's Republic is unable to obtain the funds for this from domestic sources alone.

The way to add to accumulation capacity and to produce more industrial goods per head of population is to increase the number of people employed in industry, a more productive sphere, and simultaneously to raise labour productivity. To put it briefly, to level off the economic development of the Mongolian People's Republic with that of the more developed socialist countries poses the problem of improving the economic structure. But all in all, the specific tasks of Mongolia's further industrialisation will not be correctly defined unless the advantages accruing from the growth of the socialist community and the international socialist division of labour are properly considered alongside the country's own features and possibilities.

The way to a further rapid economic and cultural advance of the Mongolian People's Republic, to achieving a high level of development, the speaker concluded, is *to combine all-round co-operation among the socialist countries with our own efforts and initiatives.*

The key to removing the disparities between the productive forces of the socialist countries, said ION RACHMUTH, lies in building and expanding the material and technological basis of socialism, in socialist industrialisation.

The Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, he said, which summed up the fruitful and many-sided work done by the Party and the impressive progress made by the nation, arrived at the conclusion that, in the main, the economic basis of socialism has been built in Rumania and that the building of socialist society has now entered the stage of completion. Rumania has made infinitely more progress in the past fifteen years than in the three-quarters of a century of capitalist and landlord rule.

For Rumania's economic potential to approach that of the more developed socialist countries, he said, her rate of industrial growth will have to be higher than theirs, but they too are not marking time and their tempos of growth are increasing continuously. From 1950 to 1961 Rumania had an average annual rate of growth of industrial output of 13.3 per cent, while that of Czechoslovakia was 10.7 per cent, and the German Democratic Republic 10.9 per cent.

What factors, the speaker asked, enable the less developed countries to attain higher rates of industrial development than those of the more advanced countries?

Fullest possible use of its natural resources by each of the countries is one of them. What I mean, the speaker said, is that in the case of the relatively less developed countries natural resources should be used chiefly for this supplementary task over and above the tasks facing the more developed socialist countries.

The "Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labour", he said, specially stresses the importance of the utmost marshalling of home resources in the economically less developed socialist countries.

Rumanian statistics show a consistent policy of employing ever greater numbers in industry, and this, together with other factors, ensures a swifter rate of industrial growth than is the case in the more developed People's Democracies.

Another factor enabling the less developed socialist countries to advance more rapidly is that their industrialisation is based on the world's most advanced technology.

The less developed socialist countries are building up their industries at a time of technological revolution. This is a highly favourable factor, since they are not burdened by existing plant whose withdrawal from production would be, no matter how you look at it, a loss to the national economy.

Co-operation and mutual aid of the countries of the socialist camp, and particularly the all-round aid rendered by the Soviet Union to all the socialist countries with a view to accelerating their development, is another important factor in the advancement of the socialist countries and the evening up of their economic levels.

While stressing the special importance of the levelling up, many speakers noted that this did not imply any slowing down in the development of the relatively advanced economies. Were this to take place, ALEXEI RUMYANTSEV pointed out, it would be objectively a concession to petty-bourgeois levelling, an equalisation with the lowest level. And in the final analysis this would retard the general progress of world socialism.

Any country joining the socialist community, Rumyantsev went on, whether developed or backward, should at once in all circumstances benefit from joining, primarily in terms of greater labour productivity and a general rise in the economic standard. But this rise, he added, is not achieved by a one-sided "charity" lavised by another country, but by harnessing all the home resources and securing a high productivity of social labour, without which socialist mutual aid is inconceivable. *That is the only way for each country to get what it needs in accordance with the principle "to each according to the quantity and quality of his work"*, which applies equally to individuals and to the socialist countries.

However, full and highly productive use of home resources presupposes conscious co-operation and regular inter-country exchange.

The *edge which the previously backward countries have* had in faster rates of growth does not imply uneven development of world socialism. On the contrary, rational acceleration of the development of the economically backward countries paves the way for more rapid progress by the community as a whole. The figures show this to be true. Vietnam and Mongolia, for example, have increased their output 100 to 150 per cent in the past five years, while industrially developed countries such as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Poland have increased theirs 40 to 50 per cent. In 1950, Albania, Vietnam, China and Mongolia accounted for something like six per cent of the aggregate industrial output of the socialist countries, whereas in 1960 they accounted for roughly 19 per cent.

Smooth and even development is becoming the essential, constant and immanent factor of international socialist relations of production, without which there could be no development of world socialism. In other words, the latter is an expression of the *law of the even development of socialism.*

WOLFGANG BERGER (G.D.R.) dwelt on another important aspect of the levelling up problem. "We are of the opinion," he said, "that in order to balance the levels of our economies, we should jointly aim at production at the highest possible labour productivity. If countries like Bulgaria and Rumania industrialise at the highest modern technological level there will hardly be any difference between the labour productivity of the new modern factories in our countries. The net product of these factories will

increase. Ability to accumulate will also increase, and differences in economic levels will shrink rapidly."

STOJAN SHALAMANOV (Bulgaria) spoke of the ways and means of eliminating the differences in the agricultural levels inherited by the socialist countries from capitalism.

"A study of this problem," he said, "enables us to see how and to what extent these differences are being eliminated, to determine the factors and to find the ways of eliminating them once and for all.

"Level of agriculture depends largely on natural conditions—soil, climate, terrain, etc. And, as we know, natural conditions differ greatly from country to country. Farming levels also depend on the arable land available in a country, and in this respect, too, the socialist countries differ greatly."

Output of basic industrial items per head of population, Shalamanov went on, has a bearing on the general level of production, and the levelling up process can be gauged by changes in output. This, however, is not the case with agriculture. This index, he thought, though widely used to compare levels of industrial development, was unsuitable for comparisons of agricultural levels. Take wheat, he said. In Bulgaria wheat is cultivated on 30 per cent of the arable land, and in the German Democratic Republic on only 8 per cent. Wheat yield per head of population amounts to 288 kilograms in Bulgaria, and to a mere 82 kilograms in the G.D.R. But the reverse could be true if we were to compare respective outputs of some other farm product.

It follows that output of the main crops per head of population indicates the agricultural level solely with respect to *each* crop separately. It does not show the *general standard* of farming in a country. As to the future, differences in output of specific crops per head of population will not only remain, but are likely to grow because of the steady international agricultural specialisation in the socialist countries.

International socialist division of labour and economic co-operation between the socialist countries, Shalamanov concluded, are the chief factors in accelerating evening up of agricultural levels.

IV. Economic Efficiency of the International Socialist Division of Labour

All the socialist countries are anxious that their co-operation shall contribute to the maximum to the growth of industrial and agricultural production and to raising productivity of labour.

But what do we mean by economic efficiency of production, what is its substance?

ALEXEI RUMYANTSEV examined these points in his contribution.

First and foremost, he said, production efficiency connotes economy of working time, the importance of which for socialist production was specially emphasised by Marx. The law of economy of working time, that is, the law of its thrifty and rational use, of maximum production per unit for working time with given technical plant, applies not only to the intercourse of associated producers in the particular socialist country, but equally to the intercourse of associated producers in the framework of the socialist world system.

The objective necessity of using the productive forces of society in the most rational way does not tolerate their waste in any shape or form. In terms of the system as a whole, social production objectively requires the utmost economy of material and labour in producing values.

To be sure, it is harder to uphold the law of economy of working time in terms of the entire system than it is, say, in one country, because, in principle, it presupposes free movement of investments and mobility of labour. But it is clear that the potential for economising working time in terms of the whole system is much greater than that in any one country. It is impossible to get maximum production with minimum outlay within the framework of the socialist system, unless the production facilities of the community as a whole are properly co-ordinated. International socialist division of labour is, therefore, a new source of economy and accumulation.

The law of economising working time is closely linked with the *law of continuous rise in labour productivity*. The task of raising labour productivity has now been tackled jointly by the socialist countries. To make the most of the factors that help raise labour productivity, such as plant, workers and their skills, organisation of production

and labour, they should be thoroughly studied. Moreover, all potential, untapped resources should be brought into play on the scale of the socialist world system.

Barbu Zaharescu (Rumania) suggested that the concept of production efficiency be properly defined. In effect, he said, economic efficiency can be described as the principle of maximum economic effect with minimum expenditure. The criterion, he went on, was steady growth of labour productivity.

The principle of maximum economic effect with minimum expenditure should, therefore, be qualified as an aspect of the law of continuous growth of the social productivity of labour. But maximum economic effect does not coincide entirely with maximum productivity of labour.

Production efficiency is governed by the basic economic law of socialism—maximum satisfaction of the requirements of society. This means that the principle of maximum economic effect with minimum expenditure should not be applied in isolation from either the objective economic conditions of socialist construction in a particular country or from maximum satisfaction of the objective requirements of society at any given moment. On the contrary, it should be applied in conformity with these conditions and requirements, Zaharescu concluded.

Other speakers said it was necessary to define the place and role of economic efficiency in economic selection, that is, the search for optimum solutions to practical economic tasks.

"When making investments, organising production, etc., all the socialist countries concentrate on achieving the greatest possible economic efficiency," Ion Rachmuth said. "It stands to reason that attention should be paid to this matter also when organising the economic relations of the socialist countries. But we should not make criteria of efficiency an absolute in specialisation and co-ordination between the socialist countries, just as we cannot do in any one country."

We hold that economic efficiency and profitability should not be the sole and decisive criteria, the speaker said.

Marxist-Leninist economic theory says that the law of value does not regulate production under socialism. This, Rachmuth said, implies that profitability should not be the only yardstick in economic management and in fixing economic proportions. Other economic and socio-political considerations may take precedence at times and in certain sections of the economy, while considerations of pure efficiency recede to the background, as, for example, in the case of regionalisation of industry in order to develop backward areas of a particular country.

Barbu Zaharescu observed that the principle of maximum economic effect with minimum expenditure should not be the sole and absolute criterion in the international division of labour and specialisation of production. It should be borne in mind that industry and agriculture require technological advancement, that output of means of production should get priority, that a desirable ratio of industry to agriculture should prevail and that there should be full employment. This means that not only economic but also political tasks are to be taken into consideration. This is not surprising, because in the ultimate, what are political tasks if not economic ones?

To produce with maximum efficiency, Zaharescu continued, one must first know *what* to produce. That, too, transcends the concept of pure efficiency.

Concluding, Zaharescu said he wanted to raise yet another point about efficiency, that of maximum use of the home resources in each country. The countries are not equally endowed with natural resources. This creates a number of economic problems. Some countries have limited resources of certain raw materials, of fuel, etc., limited mineral deposits and unfavourable conditions for their extraction. We believe, he added, that sooner or later these resources will have to be used all the same. The situation is much the same as in agriculture. Demand for farm products and industrial crops has compelled the socialist countries to cultivate all their available land, including the least productive.

Oleg Bogomolov (U.S.S.R.) also examined the role of economic efficiency. The economic results of the co-operation of the socialist countries, he said, can largely be measured by the rise in productivity of social production in each country, by the growing rate of economic expansion and the rising living standard, and the gradual elimination of the historically conditioned differences in the economic levels of the countries concerned. To be sure, this does not obviate the need for searching for the

right methods of appraising the economic effect of division of labour among the socialist countries, since it is a vital factor of rapid progress with regard to each country and the community as a whole.

The principle of the greatest economic efficiency, Bogomolov went on, as applied to the division of labour among the socialist countries, should not be conceived too narrowly. Under certain conditions the consideration of direct and immediate material gain recedes, while factors of a higher order come to the fore. The socialist countries respond to the supreme needs of their economy, the need to raise productivity of all national labour and to ensure full employment. They are not deterred by temporary losses in furthering this principle, and are willing to export and import goods at a smaller-than-usual profit. There is sound economic sense in this, because in the final analysis the bigger effect is obtained from the long-term and stable increase in productivity brought about by socialist industrialisation. However, an objective appraisal of the efficiency of the international socialist division of labour should always, in all circumstances, include computation of saving in current and capital outlays, this being the point of departure for subsequent judgments.

We may have an answer to what should be considered the chief criterion of the economic efficiency of international socialist division of labour, Bogomolov said, but we have not yet settled the equally important question of how to use this criterion in practice. To begin with, due to differences in national conditions, some of the socialist countries may judge the patterns suggested for the division of labour by different yardsticks. It should not surprise us if some forms of co-operation and co-ordination yield different effects in different countries, since the latter have varying economic levels and entirely different economic tasks.

As an index of the efficiency of international co-operation in industry, economy in the expenditure of living and materialised labour should, we believe, be assessed, firstly, in relation to the national economy of each of the socialist countries and, secondly, in relation to the socialist system as a whole (or a group of countries). Neither of these two assessments should be given priority, since this would either infringe the national sovereignty of a country or affect common interests. To make division of labour equally acceptable and advantageous for all, the practical issues involved should be resolved on the basis of a thorough analysis, Bogomolov concluded.

Endre Molnar (Hungary) posed the question of how to make the development of the socialist countries, especially the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, economically efficient. For us in Hungary, he said, use of home resources is basic. But, he added, we consider this in its dialectical relation to the requirements of international specialisation and co-operation, and believe that the economic resources of each country, taken broadly, should be used to the utmost advantage and thus promote in full measure the economic development of the socialist community as a whole.

Josef Pajestka (Poland) brought up a number of interesting points concerning the importance of economic efficiency.

The socialist division of labour, he said, must yield the maximum economic efficiency. That is of utmost importance for our economic co-operation. Efficiency derives from close co-operation in a large economic complex, namely, the economies of the countries comprising the socialist economic community. Close co-operation in this complex can yield substantial benefit to each of the partners. There is no need for me to elucidate this point, because our experience speaks for itself.

A just distribution of the advantages implicit in the international division of labour is most important, for it stimulates the interest of the partners, and adds to the solidity of the community. This implies that the principles of co-operation, the principles governing the work of the community, should ensure a just distribution of the advantages in question.

It is important therefore to decide what is just and what is not. In my view, the speaker added, this is not merely a matter of adding up and balancing the advantages. Arithmetical fairness should be combined with an examination of the specific situations of the various countries. What we should consider among other things is the need to even up the economic levels of the socialist countries.

It seems to be impossible at the moment to introduce universal criteria for economic solutions in relation to the system as a whole, rather than to individual countries. With

respect to, say, industrial development, they could be introduced for raw materials, but would be much harder to introduce at present for manufacturing industry.

It is impossible, he went on, to make scientific comparisons of the economic efficiency of division of labour with respect to one country and to the socialist economic system as a whole, until a standard system of comparable indices is worked out for the community and until we have the necessary economic tools for thorough economic analysis.

"You will recall," JAN KOTKOVSKY said on this score, "that in the past the Council for Mutual Economic Aid lacked economic indices to analyse the conditions and prospects of the Council member-countries, nor did it co-ordinate production plans and investment programmes on a multi-lateral basis."

At present, he went on, methodological and practical research is being done by the Council to facilitate collective co-ordination of economic policies and international plan indices. Methodological and analytical research is also being done with regard to important synthetic and other value computations and plan indices. This means, he added, that the tools for producing comparable international indices are being wrought.

Speakers concurred in saying that prices in the foreign trade between the socialist countries were highly important for assessing economic efficiency. A number of speakers spoke in detail about this.

The notion that the system of prices in the trade between the socialist countries should be based exclusively on some general and allegedly theoretic principles is entirely wrong, said JOSEF PAJESTKA. Prices in the trade between socialist countries should be determined by the influence they exert on the development of the entire community and of the individual countries, on the division of labour and the sharing of the benefits implicit in international co-operation.

Prices, he continued, are an instrument for distributing profits, and affect the international division of labour. Neither the principle of prices based on value, nor any other principle will be adequate by itself if it ignores these particular functions. It is equally obvious that world prices must be considered when fixing prices for the socialist countries, because selling goods in other markets is always a realistic alternative.

OLEG BOGOMOLOV noted that the general economic gain accruing to the socialist system from the extension of co-ordinated international production should, in principle, be distributed among the particular countries proportionally to their expenditures. However, distribution depends largely on the prices of the goods exchanged. The balance of prices in the socialist world market affects the trading indices of the various countries. The economic gains of the socialist countries vary, depending on the price level.

It is obvious, therefore, that the economic efficiency of the international socialist division of labour hinges, as a criterion, on whether or not we cope with the task of improving the system of prices in our mutual trade, the speaker said. That is one of the cardinal problems of economic co-operation. And solved it must be, for its influence is felt continuously.

It so happens that trade between the socialist countries takes place at the prices on the capitalist world market. Although our prices are not affected by speculative trends and are therefore fairly stable, they bear the imprint of capitalist economy all the same. So far, however, we have no other basis for price-fixing in our mutual trade.

Equivalent international exchange, the speaker continued, means that output is exchanged in proportion to the expenditure of labour socially necessary from the standpoint of all the countries involved in the trading, rather than from the standpoint of any one country. International value, the basis for world prices, does not coincide with national value if the countries concerned have different levels of economic development. In other words, the more highly developed country is able to exchange a lesser quantity of its labour for a greater quantity of the labour of other nations.

We may ask how to adjust this feature of international exchange to the principle of mutual advantage, which stems from the equality and sovereignty of the socialist countries.

In my view, Bogomolov said, the two are quite compatible. Equality in exchange and mutual advantage do not depend on whether equal or unequal quantities of national labour are contained in the commodities exchanged. Economic advantage, that is, the economic effect of trade, depends on the difference in outlay in producing an article at

home and the outlay in producing the exported articles in exchange for which the article in question may be obtained. "The country . . . may offer more materialised labour *in kind* than it receives, and yet thereby receive commodities cheaper than it could produce them" (K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 232). From this standpoint, we could take the more or less equal profitability for each socialist country of commodity exchange as the index of mutual benefit.

Many of the speakers expressed the view that international socialist economic co-operation would benefit if the economic laws of socialism were exploited to the best advantage in the countries concerned, and if their economic management and index systems were at the necessary scientific level. WOLFGANG BERGER, for example, said that an accurate estimate of the actual cost of production would be the right thing for comparing cost of production with prices on the world market. On the other hand, a scientifically established price structure could be a stimulus to greater profitability through fuller use of internal resources. It could be a means of economic pressure on the producers, designed to obtain maximum efficiency of social labour.

In this way, the speaker said, we could single out the commodities and groups of commodities produced with top efficiency, which are suitable for the scheme of international specialisation. We are aware, of course, that at first the interests of various countries may not coincide. But, while rendering each other comradely mutual aid, the only way to obtain optimum benefit for all concerned is to specialise in the items which we produce with high efficiency and of good quality.

ALEXANDER SOBOLEV (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) was the next speaker.

"The growing economic relations between the socialist countries," he noted, "raise the problem of improving economic policy within the framework of the socialist system as a whole. As I see it, it should be the basic purpose of this policy to make the most of the advantages implicit in the socialist world system in order to accelerate the growth of the national economies and the economy of the socialist world system as a whole."

Previous speakers, he went on, have already pointed out that this growth is impelled mostly by international division of labour or, to be more precise, by specialisation not only by industry but also within the industries concerned. Whenever we examine the problem of economic relations and division of labour among the socialist countries, we begin by taking the foreign-trade index, the volume of mutual deliveries, and obtain very good figures. We find, for example, that mutual commodity deliveries between the U.S.S.R. and the G.D.R. exceeded those for the U.S.A. and F.R.G., and that trade between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia surpassed the trade between Britain and the F.R.G. To be sure, Sobolev said, foreign trade is an extremely important index, but it is not conclusive enough to help us find the untapped potentials and exploit the advantages of the socialist system on a world-wide scale. The essential thing is to determine the structure of our foreign trade and the qualitative structure of the commodities. Experience so far shows that non-specialised deliveries make up a substantial portion of this trade. Raw materials (coke, oil, ore, etc.) account for much of the trade between the socialist countries. That, too, is division of labour, but only in elementary form. It does not yield the economic effect implicit in the basic processes of the world-wide division of labour, and does not exert enough influence on structural changes in industry in the context of specialisation.

Yet, in my opinion, Sobolev continued, specialisation is the chief advantage offered by the division of labour. Co-ordinated plans will not yield the full economic effect until each country separately, and all of them in the aggregate, define the long-term structure more conclusively and find the right way of combining the complex and specialised, until they find more rational ways of using available resources and solve the problem of greater labour productivity.

At present, the countries have to face up to the problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution—electronics, chemicalisation and automation. In this context it might be useful to discuss the question of modern technology in the socialist world system.

It will be recalled that designers, as a rule, proceed from available technological solutions which they adapt to specific projects. Their chief concern is immediate economic expediency. That is why we are still behind in some branches of industry, especially in chemicals, electronics and instrument-making. It would not be bad if the socialist countries were to get together and establish centralised institutes to develop the

technology of the future, as a groundwork for the material and technical basis of the communist system and as a means of re-equipping the economy as a whole. The experience of the Joint Nuclear Research Institute in Dubna shows that this is quite practicable, and that it does not infringe on national sovereignty. On the contrary, it offers the countries concerned an opportunity to use all the scientific and technical potential and accomplishments of the socialist system and to enrich their science, culture, and technology.

PAJESTKA noted that the speakers who discussed the problems of co-operation gave prominence to the system of prices in the trade among Council for Mutual Economic Aid members. But too little attention, he thought, has been paid to mutually adjusting the domestic prices of member-countries.

It will be a good thing for the current co-operation between Council member-countries if we accept the principle of approximating the price structure and work out a programme to put it into effect.

The question of economic levers, the means of improving the economic co-operation and making it more effective, has also been examined. The principle of profitability is a most important economic lever in the exchange between countries. It is implicit in the fact that international economic relations in the socialist world are inevitably governed by the law of value.

ALEXEI RUMYANTSEV noted that the law of value governed the exchange between socialist countries because exchange did not directly express the average world-wide socially necessary working time. Exchange of products takes place as *commodity exchange* between joint owners, or sovereign states. The commodity-money form, Rumyantsev said, was more widespread in the sphere of their international socialist relations of production than in the individual socialist countries. Within the boundaries of the separate countries the laws of reproduction operated through both commodity-money relations and through gratuitous public distribution (social security, public health, education, etc.), while the mechanism of commodity-money relations predominated in the case of the socialist world system.

The law of value, of commodity-money relations and, lastly, of the *profit and loss approach* to international economic exchange are objectively conditioned and necessary. The principle of mutually advantageous reimbursement does not contradict the principle of mutual aid, as some theorists maintain. Although relations of mutual aid imply gratuity, they also imply, and basically so, *mutual benefit*. In socialist society, free aid and support imply a contribution to the common cause of labour by each according to his ability. In the economic context, mutual benefit in relations between countries is really a kind of vehicle for profitable production. In the international context it implies that mutual co-operation (particularly and especially in specialisation and co-operation of production) offers greater advantages and greater economic efficiency than reliance exclusively on national resources.

But complex problems are involved. For example, profitable commodity exchange in terms of foreign currency may not, in the case of some countries, coincide with the concept of maximum profitability, meaning demands engendered by the development of the country concerned and of the system as a whole. This contradiction resolves itself, in particular, through mutually advantageous specialisation and co-ordination of production and through regular adjustment of prices within the framework of the socialist system.

"The time has come," Oleg Bogomolov said, "when the Leninist principles of profitability in international economic exchange, that is, on an extended international basis, can be further developed. The development and consolidation of the methods of socialist economy with respect to the economic co-operation of socialist countries involves a number of issues.

"To begin with, it is important to have a strictly equivalent exchange of the fruits of economic activity, that is, an exchange that reimburses each country for its outlays of labour socially necessary from the standpoint of the socialist community as a whole. The more consistently we adhere to this principle of mutual benefit, the easier it will be for us to resolve the questions of international co-operation. This, clearly, does not exclude a further development of fraternal aid in all its forms. On the contrary, it makes fraternal aid imperative.

"Further, in order to secure a proper combination of the economic interests of

individual countries with the interests of the whole community and strict adherence to mutual benefit, it is necessary to provide effective incentives for the socialist countries to develop international specialisation of production and trade. In addition to prices, it would be good to use such incentives as specific credits to boost production of scarce raw materials, free exchange of technological experience, etc. Better planning of international economic relations and their efficient organisation are inconceivable without a high degree of responsibility of the countries for their commitments with respect to international specialisation and co-ordination of production. A consciously regulated division of labour between the socialist countries presupposes vitally important economic interdependence. Proper and punctual fulfilment of commitments is a prime internationalist duty for every socialist country. The moral responsibility of the fraternal countries should be coupled with material instruments, such as sanctions against defaulters.

The profitability principle, applied reciprocally by the socialist countries and supplemented by a system of material incentives would further socialist co-operation and mutual aid.

V. International Specialisation and Comprehensive Economic Development

The steady development of international socialist division of labour and the transition from the simple forms of commerce to increasingly higher forms of co-operation in industry enhance the role and importance of combining international specialisation of production with the comprehensive economic development of the separate countries. As noted in the "Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labour" only the harmonious combination of international specialisation with the development of national-economic complexes "can ensure the fullest and most economical use of production facilities by each socialist country and the community as a whole."

This problem, understandably, was the subject of many of the contributions.

"It is one of the demands of the law of equalisation, the law of the even development under socialism, to overcome the warped, one-sided economic structure inherited from capitalism by some of the countries which had developed as agrarian and raw-material appendages to the imperialist powers," ALEXEI RUMYANTSEV said. "Experience shows that comprehensive economic development of these countries during the socialist construction has had good results. However, it is rightly said in the *Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labour* that the 'tendency to create restricted national-economic complexes to the detriment of a rational international division of labour and, conversely, one-sided international economic specialisation are likely to impair the efficiency and retard the rate of economic growth both in the separate countries and in the system as a whole'."

Comprehensive development, Rumyantsev said, does not imply that all the socialist countries should have an identical structure of social production and identical economic proportions.

There is no need for each socialist country to go in for all branches of industry and farming. In the case of the smaller countries there is simply not enough manpower to do so. On the other hand, production organised in terms of the local market will inevitably be small in scale and, consequently, backward and inefficient. Even in the bigger countries, some branches of modern large-scale production designed solely for the local market may ultimately become economically ineffective.

The production structure in the socialist countries and the proportions prevailing in their national economies will inevitably differ from country to country, the speaker said. But under socialism no country is ever doomed to be preponderantly agrarian, or likely to follow a one-sided trend and become a raw materials appendage to the industrially developed countries.

In modern conditions, Rumyantsev went on, the structure and proportions of the various socialist economies and their specialisation are moulded in the process of voluntary co-operation based on scientific analysis and full discussion of all economic questions.

CONSTANTIOU IONESCU (Rumania) continued the discussion on this point. In the course of the comprehensive economic development and extension of international

socialist division of labour, he said, the structure of the social product, the aggregate turnover and the economic proportions tend to differ. It would be utopian to build an identical economic structure in all the socialist countries, to have equal proportions with regard to the economy as a whole and to the separate branches of industry.

This should not be taken to mean, he warned, that the extracting industries will be dominant in some countries, manufacturing industries in others, and farming in the rest. That kind of thing, he said, would turn the clock back to a time when agriculture took precedence in the social product and in the national income of some of the countries, Rumania included. The economic complex of every country should be of the kind that ensures a steady rise in economic level. Above all, this implies the greatest possible development of industry in each country, industry being the decisive economic branch. Also, it implies priority growth of output of means of production.

Industrialisation, said Barbu Zaharescu in his contribution, is an objective law of the building of socialism, and all the socialist countries can build their own industry with available home resources and by utilising the benefits deriving from international socialist division of labour.

Socialist industrialisation, as Marxism-Leninism shows, is not just any kind of industrialisation, he said. It connotes a priority growth of output of means of production. This applies to each of the countries, and is equally correct for the socialist community as a whole.

Classification of socialist countries into countries producing means of production and countries producing consumer goods, into primarily industrial countries and primarily agrarian countries, would be unwelcome to the separate countries and to the socialist system in general. Indeed, would the socialist world economy gain if any of the countries of the community neglected the opportunities to expand its productive forces?

The question of combining international specialisation with comprehensive economic development is bound up with the concept of the national-economic complex.

"What does a comprehensive economy imply?" asked P. ALAMPIYEV (U.S.S.R.).

Comprehensiveness, he said, does not hinge on universality of production and on the self-sufficiency of a country, but on a harmonious combination of the branches of the economy, on sound proportions, and on the best possible use by a country of its production resources and possibilities. Multiform structure is not an aim in itself, but only a means of economising social labour and making it more productive. Comprehensive development is a multi-sided development of a country's economy in which organically associated branches of industry are rationally combined and proportions established with a view to the best possible use of all resources of the country.

The economic effect of a country's comprehensive development both at home and in terms of the socialist community hinges chiefly on the best use being made of natural resources, manpower and fixed assets, lower production costs, production of more goods in less time, and less expenditure on transport and storage of unfinished goods, materials and the end product.

But the tendency to round out a country's economic complex, Alampiyev said, may well develop into a turn towards autarchy, which is extremely undesirable if the attempt to fill all the requirements of a nation with home production involves higher costs and makes products more expensive than if they were delivered from other socialist countries.

The national complexes differ greatly, because each country has its own distinctive industrial features, its own pattern of natural resources, its own specific economic conditions for the development and distribution of production, and its own path in history. These distinctions prompt the close association of countries in a single world socialist complex founded on a territorial division of labour.

The subjective factor, the speaker went on, is prominent, because the process of creating optimum relations between the national complex and the international division of labour is consciously regulated in the socialist environment by the bodies shaping the basic trends of economic policy. To be sure no guarantee exists against mistakes, which in the final analysis can be reduced to two main types. The first would be to underrate comprehensive economic development. This may be caused by neglecting the features of the present stage of development of the socialist world system. The second mistake would be to elevate comprehensive development of the national

economies to an absolute, and to disregard international socialist division of labour and the common interests of the socialist system as a whole.

Either mistake can be avoided by means of co-operation, if the socialist countries discuss and settle all questions on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

STANISLAW KUZINSKI (Poland)[2] then examined the problems of specialisation and its combination with comprehensive development of national economy.

GENNADY PUSHEV (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) said in his speech: "In terms of long-range socio-economic development, it is the world socialist system as a whole that can and must ultimately become a *comprehensively* developed economic complex. The system is now faced with the task of comprehensive development all the more so because due to the historical environment in which socialism emerged, the general industrial level of the socialist world system is still lower than the level of the developed capitalist countries."

The emergence of the socialist world system, the consolidation of people's power and laying the socio-economic foundation of the new socialist system, he said, went hand in hand with multi-form economic development in each country. New branches of industry appeared, and the one-sided development caused by the international capitalist division of labour was gradually eliminated. This relieved the socialist countries of dependence on the imperialist powers.

Withdrawal from the system of international capitalist division of labour, the speaker continued, and the ending of the former industrial relationships, resulted in a certain shrinking of economic ties. External ties were confined, more so than before, to foreign trade. As a consequence, the efforts towards multiform economic development had a by-product in the trend to build nationally-exclusive economies.

International socialist division of labour, Pushev went on, was an effective way to combat these undesirable trends. The question of defining the national-economic complex in modern conditions, he added, should be based on this consideration.

Needless to say, assessment of the national-economic complex does not depend on subjective considerations, nor on political or ideological needs, but above all on objective economic trends. In our opinion, Pushev said, there are two closely connected trends in economic development. The first is towards specialisation and co-operation of production, and towards greater division of labour both nationally and internationally. Modern production is becoming more and more "fragmented", breaking up into specific types, but still massive and large-scale. So it cannot help emerging beyond the national boundaries. On the other hand, we see a trend towards comprehensive economy and combination of production. Both trends are accentuated by the modern scientific and technological revolution. Analysis of these objective trends shows that *specialisation is not at all opposed to the building of comprehensive, multiform industry.*

In shaping their economic policies, the countries proceed inevitably from the inheritance left by capitalism, in which inheritance the absence of a comprehensively developed economy is the typical feature. The development of a comprehensive economy is *accelerated* by international specialisation, which naturally considers the national conditions at each stage of development, Pushev concluded.

There is, then, a close dialectical tie-up between the international socialist division of labour and the comprehensive economic development of each country. This was the point made in his communication by ENDRE MOLNAR.

"Our Party," he said, "holds that for all the socialist countries and the socialist camp the road to prosperity and consolidation presupposes better use of the economic resources of each country, better co-ordination of our development and further expansion of the international division of labour. We hold that full use of the home resources dialectically presupposes reliance on them plus better co-ordination within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and of the socialist system and an extended international division of labour. This dialectical unity should not be violated."

Many speakers pointed out that the building of national economic complexes needed international specialisation and co-operation.

FRANTISEK STRANSKY (Czechoslovakia) said:

"As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, we cannot afford to take an extreme point

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[2] See Kuzinski's article "Specialization of Production in the Socialist World System" in this issue.

of view and act solely on the principle of maximum use of home resources. Nor can we afford to adopt the principle of the common and joint solution of all questions in its extreme form. The principle of maximum use of the home resources by each country is right in general, but it should not be mechanically applied to concrete problems of economic policy, for this could warp economic development. In substance, economic development should be based on an equilibrium of produced and consumed values and benefits, that is, on balanced foreign economic relations.

As we see it, the correct approach would be to strive for maximum harmony between our own efforts, the interests and aims of each country's economic development, and the efforts, interests and aims of the economic development of our system as a whole.

EUGENI MATEYEV spoke about the need to extend social division of labour, international division of labour included, and described it as the prime condition for full use of the national resources by each country. This need, he said, is determined by the growth of the productive forces. The forms it will take, and the degree to which international division of labour and comprehensive national-economic development are combined, depend on the production relations implicit in the economic system. To counterpose international division of labour to use of national resources and national-economic development would be tantamount to ignoring, firstly, the close connection between the current development of the productive forces and the growing social complexion of production, and, secondly, the extremely favourable conditions created by the socialist relations of production.

Let us assume, the speaker continued, that a country has all the natural resources—the various mineral and agricultural raw materials—in due quantities, and that it has adequate manpower and plant to turn the available raw materials into ready products. What part of its manpower it allocates to extracting industry, and what part to manufacturing industry depends on the production techniques at each successive stage of processing and, from the point of view of dynamics, on the relative rate of growth of labour productivity in the extracting and manufacturing industries. It will be recalled that in manufacture the general tendency is for working time to increase. But that does not concern us at this point. The important thing is that given the present productive forces, the present labour productivity in the extracting and manufacturing industries and the present structure of production in both, there is a definite proportion between the two in the distribution of working time and the productive forces.

The desired balance between natural resources and manpower is established by the exchange of products within increasingly greater complexes, while the balance in the smaller territorial complexes is inadequate in varying degree. International division of labour is, therefore, an extremely important factor in rectifying the proportion of natural resources to manpower.

Theoretical conclusions of this kind, Mateyev said, were backed up by a wealth of factual data on the economic co-operation of the socialist countries. No country will be able to turn its own economic resources to the best account if international division of labour is not extended. Conversely, increasingly fuller and economically desirable use of national resources, if based on such co-operation, operates as a vital factor in expanding the co-operation. The dialectics of this process, Mateyev concluded, is the mainspring of the economic basis of internationalism, which is an objective law of the socialist world system.

"Socialism and socialist relations of production," ERWIN HUTIRA (Rumania) said, "provide realistic opportunities for a harmonious combination of comprehensive and multiform development of the national economies with co-ordination and extension of international specialisation. Given international socialist division of labour the economy of each socialist country can have a multiform structure in which industry and agriculture, extractive and manufacturing industries, output of means of production and output of consumer goods all combine harmoniously. For comprehensive and multiform development of the socialist countries, industry should have a rising ascendancy in the national economy and there should be priority development for output of means of production. International co-operation and specialisation by types of products, primarily in iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metals industries, engineering and chemicals, help greatly to solve the problems arising for each country in connection with the comprehensive and all-round development of its national economy.

The development in each country of, say, the engineering industry at a rate surpassing

the rate of development for industry as a whole, and accelerated development of engineering in the formerly backward countries, is essential to stimulate international socialist division of labour in this area. As a natural result of the expanded international socialist division of labour, and of specialisation and co-operation of production, Hutira said, a substantial portion of Rumania's export of machines and equipment goes to the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, and we, in turn, also get machines and equipment from them.

One of the main trends in co-ordinating plans with respect to engineering, is concentration on designing and producing machines and equipment of a high technical standard that are either not made or are in short supply in the socialist countries.

The chemical industry is developing rapidly in the socialist countries chiefly on the basis of local raw materials and with the main purpose of satisfying home needs. Its development calls for improved international co-operation and specialisation with regard to various products, in order to extend the range of the latter, improve their quality and turn out substitutes for materials in short supply.

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The participants in the symposium agreed that their exchange of views on the laws governing the socialist world system did not and could not claim to be exhaustive. Some aspects, they pointed out, called for deeper examination and would for long be the subject of scientific discussion. The purpose of the exchange was to discuss just a few of the theoretical issues pertaining to the development of the socialist world economic system.

Interviews

The Sorrow and Wrath of South Africa

In the southernmost part of Africa now battling against the last fetters of colonial slavery stands the medieval prison called the South African Republic. The racist regime there has been condemned by people all over the world.

A widespread popular movement for freedom and democracy is gaining strength in the country. Our correspondent met with Mark Williams-Shope, General Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and interviewed him on some aspects of the situation in South Africa and the growth of the national-liberation movement there.

Below is a transcript of the interview.

IT is not easy to comprehend what it really means to be born a non-white person, and more so to be born an African in South Africa. It is not easy to understand what it means to be dragged out of one's bed by any government official, policeman or municipal official in the dead of night and taken to the superintendent's office, naked in the full view of one's children, and kept there until some other official arrives at 9 a.m.; the victim is taken there not because he has committed a crime, but merely because he does not have a pass or permit entitling him to be in that particular locality, or because he happened to have received a visitor from a different township who arrived after the municipal offices were closed, or because he failed to pay his rent before the seventh of the current month.

It is not easy to understand how a person of African descent feels in his everyday life when, day in and day out, he is not sure that when he leaves his wife and children in the morning for work or to look for work, he will come back and have his meagre supper with his family in the evening; for at every turn he is dogged by the police. At bus stops, railway stations, on train or bus he can be picked up for a mere technical offence under pass laws and be subjected to brutal manhandling at the police stations.

Only the South African "Native" really knows what pass laws are. A pass is no ordinary identity card, it is a badge of slavery. Only an African in South Africa carries this document. It sends hundreds of thousands of Africans to jail annually. Apartheid and racial discrimination flourish under this law. Africans are controlled at every step by this act. When Africans protest against this inhuman treatment, they are answered by bullets and bayonets. The instructions given to the police by former Minister of Justice Ch. R. Swart, now State President of the Republic, are "shoot first, then ask questions".

Africans, of whom there are some 11,000,000, own only 13 per cent of the land, and even to this land they have no right to ownership as the word is understood elsewhere in the world. They have no title deeds to their land, they can be removed from any part of the so-called African area at the whim of any government official. An African cannot build a house of his own design without first obtaining permission from a native commissioner or the right authority, for if he dares do so, the authorities can at any time after completion, ask him to demolish it without any compensation, stating that the house is in the wrong place.

Pursuing their apartheid policy, the government is now setting up the so-called Bantustans to which people are sent from all over the country. Officially, the "Bantustans" are given "regional self-rule", but the President of the Republic remains the "supreme chief of all the natives".

The Africans have never reconciled themselves to their condition of no rights and white-minority exploitation and rule. Our liberation struggle has long and glorious traditions. The African National Congress (the A.N.C.), the strongest organisation opposing apartheid, has been fighting for freedom and equal rights for the South African people for over half a century.

In 1955 the Congress of the People in South Africa, sponsored by the A.N.C., South African Trade-Union Congress and other trade union organisations adopted *The Freedom Charter* in which it declared that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people".

The A.N.C. never pursued the aim of destroying the Whites or of driving them out of the country. African progressives have always opposed racialism. We are fighting not against representatives of the White race, but against the racial discrimination practised by the exploiting White minority, and against the social oppression by S.A. imperialists and their partners.

The African National Congress has consistently fought in a peaceful and democratic way, by means of meetings, demonstrations, strikes, and civil disobedience. Every move by the people of our country to get their grievances redressed, has been met with violent and brutal suppression by the government of the day. This violence was brought into full view immediately after the Second World War in 1946, when 100,000 mine workers led by John B. Marks, Chairman of the African Mine Workers Union, went on strike for higher wages.

The Smuts government mobilised all the machinery of state to crush the strike. Workers were shot down by troops and police, driven down the pits at the point of the bayonet; more than 100 people were killed and thousands seriously wounded.

After the failure of the strike it became clear that the authorities had no intention of meeting the demands of the people fought for in a peaceful way. The miners' strike was one of those great historical events that in a flash educates a nation, reveals what has been concealed, destroys all the lies and illusions. In a sense, the 1946 strike marked the true beginning of the mass revolutionary fight for freedom in South Africa.

Although the liberation movement continued to follow a policy of non-violence, deep in their hearts the liberation leaders felt that in the near future the movement would have no choice but to change its policy.

In 1950, in protest against the Suppression-of-Communism Act, the A.N.C. announced a strike in the Transvaal. This strike, too, was ruthlessly suppressed by the government. Eighteen people were killed and 100 wounded.

Still, despite this provocation, the A.N.C., together with the other organisations, recognising their responsibility to the people, continued to follow the policy of non-violence.

It was at the time of the famous Pietermaritzburg All-African Conference (March 1961) that the A.N.C. leadership became convinced beyond doubt that it would be futile to continue the policy of non-violence, and decided that non-violence had served its purpose and was no longer suitable for the struggle of our people. The conference decided that violence as a form of struggle should not be rejected and that the people would have to defend themselves in every way.

In these conditions the Communist Party of South Africa which, like the A.N.C., is deprived of legal status, recorded in its programme:

"The Nationalist government has closed, or is closing, every channel of legal protest and normal political activity. It is openly preparing for civil war.

"In the face of these provocations, the liberation movement has had to reconsider its attitude towards non-violence as a universal principle. The patience of the people is not endless. They are determined to win freedom in our lifetime. They would prefer to achieve

their liberation by non-violent means. But today they are left with no alternative but to defend themselves and hit back; to meet violence with violence."

The course of armed action we have adopted is not the result of abstract reasoning or adventurism but a recognised necessity proved right by the experience over the years. We realise that a hard struggle lies ahead and we want to be fully prepared for it so as to reduce the number of victims in that struggle.

The fascist regime of Verwoerd will stop at nothing. Ignoring the will of the people and world public opinion it is intensifying repressions and resorting to unheard-of brutality as reported on numerous occasions in the world press.

On February 1st this year, in the S.A. House of Assembly, Minister of Justice Vorster, informed Parliament that 49 complaints of assault by the police or warders on 90-day detainees had been made to the police. A Police constable who appeared in court recently on a charge of torturing two African detainees, one of whom died, told a magistrate that he doubted whether there was a single police station in South Africa that did not use the same method, that is, torture by electric shock, gas mask, water treatment and suffocation with the use of plastic bags.

Police violence against the opponents of apartheid and racial discrimination is nothing new in South Africa. It only became more vicious with the passing of the notorious 90-Day No-Trial Act in 1963, whereby any person can be detained without trial for 90 days. New, even more barbarous, methods of extracting information from the police victims have been devised.

It will be recalled that during the liberation war in Algeria the South African government sent police to Algeria to be trained by the French authorities in new methods of torture.

During the first six months of 1963 more than 5,000 of our fighters against the Verwoerd fascist regime went through this gruesome ordeal of electric shock, water treatment, gas masks and brutal beatings.

In about 80 trials which took place throughout the country, involving about 1,100 political prisoners, 46 received death sentences, and more than 700 got sentences totalling 4,724 years in jail.

The people of the world followed with pain and anger the Rivonia trial—the frame-up staged against South African patriots. The Rivonia Trial was the trial of our finest and most devoted leaders, the trial of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Lionel Bernstein, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki and others. Last summer the police seized them in Rivonia, a suburb of Johannesburg. They were charged with "sabotage" which involves the death sentence. The lives of the patriots were in danger.

In point of fact, the trial of these people was the trial of all the oppressed non-White people of South Africa and those progressive Whites who have decided to take their stand with the non-White people in their struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination.

Racist "justice" decided to make a world sensation out of the trial, which had been in progress for over six months. The Prosecution called 150 witnesses and submitted heaps of documents.

The Palace of Justice in Pretoria, where the trial took place, was guarded day and night by heavily reinforced police patrols. Police in the court-room seized anyone who showed the slightest sympathy for the accused.

By staging the Rivonia trial the Verwoerd government wanted to show to the world that it does not intend to make any concessions in its policy of apartheid, that it ignores public opinion and does not want to reckon either with the will of the African peoples or with the demands of all sincere people throughout the world.

This time, however, the barbaric actions of the South African authorities were so obvious that literally on the day after the trial opened, representatives of 106 nations at the Eighteenth General Assembly of the United Nations demanded that the disgraceful hearings be stopped. People and organisations of widely different views have unanimously demanded the release of the political prisoners. The African National Congress declared that by putting Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and their colleagues in the dock Dr. Verwoerd and his Minister of Justice Vorster have, in effect, put themselves and their government on trial before the whole world.

People everywhere have branded the South African racists. But they, continuing the Rivonia trial*, are determined physically to destroy the brave sons of South Africa and behead the liberation movement. This shows that the South African fascists cannot be fought merely

* The trial is now over and sentences of imprisonment have been imposed. The need is still urgent to campaign for the release of the prisoners.

by the method of denunciation, and that persuasion has no effect on them. African patriots have realised this truth. And progressives throughout the world are beginning to get a better understanding of it.

In November 1962 the United Nations called upon all member states to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa, to close their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag, refuse landing and transit facilities to all aircraft belonging to the government of South Africa, to boycott South African goods and refrain from exporting goods, primarily arms and ammunition, to South Africa. Complying with this decision, most African and socialist countries are already applying these sanctions. The Soviet Union, previously a big buyer of South African wool, imposed a full trade embargo in 1962. Czechoslovakia closed its consular offices in Johannesburg and severed all commercial relations.

By the time the Eighteenth (1963) Session of the General Assembly was convened, 46 countries had officially announced that they were applying the above-mentioned sanctions. Another 21 countries publicly declared, at various times, that they had ended trade and political relations with Verwoerd's racist regime. The implementation of economic sanctions against South Africa by over a half of UNO member states is a notable achievement in the struggle to isolate the regime of apartheid.

The world-wide economic campaign against South Africa reached its peak at the international conference on economic sanctions against the apartheid Republic held in London on April 14-17 and attended by 250 delegates from 40 countries. The wide representation shows that the apartheid and racial discrimination practised in South Africa are viewed with disgust by people of good will everywhere. The people of the world have expressed their solidarity with the working masses of our country who are firmly opposing racial discrimination.

Like freedom-fighters everywhere, we South Africans understand that world socialism and the international working class are our staunch allies. Solidarity with the people of South Africa and isolation of the regime of Verwoerd and his imperialist patrons are tasks set and undertaken by many Communist and Workers' parties. Implementation of these tasks calls for unity of all the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world.

Unfortunately, however, we are now witnessing how this unity is being violated. The grave differences which have set in in the international Communist movement are diverting revolutionaries from their main tasks. Because of the attitude taken by leaders of the Communist Party of China these differences have gone beyond the framework of the Communist movement and are hampering the work of progressive and democratic organisations. As a result, the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation delegates, instead of considering steps needed for victory over colonialism and imperialism, over apartheid and race discrimination, have had to concentrate on examining and denouncing the incorrect and harmful theses which the Chinese representatives have sought to impose on them on practically all issues.

The attempts to counterpose the national-liberation movement to the struggle for peaceful coexistence and disarmament have caused great harm to our own struggle. It was in the conditions of the relatively calmer international atmosphere achieved in recent years thanks to the consistent peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries that the biggest gains were made in isolating the racial regime in South Africa.

Under pressure from African and socialist countries, the Republic of South Africa was expelled from the International Labour Organisation in May 1963 and from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. South African representatives were forced to withdraw from the United Nations Conference on Tourism in August 1963 and from the Thirteenth Session of the African Regional Conference of the World Health Organisation. The South African Republic was boycotted at the F.A.O. Conference and at the Conference of the International Monetary Fund in September 1963. Now the question is raised of not admitting it to the forthcoming Olympic Games in Tokyo. The recent London conference on economic sanctions for South Africa was a sign of the times. This progress has become possible in the conditions of international *detente* which lays bare before the whole world the ugly image of the racial regime in South Africa.

As to disarmament, the Chinese leaders' contention is that in advocating reduction in armaments the Soviet Union wants to disarm the embattled peoples. But we well know who gave, and continues to give, weapons to the patriots fighting against colonialism and the puppet regimes. We will always remember how victory was won in Cuba, in Algeria and in Egypt. We know too that the Verwoerd racial regime can continue in our country only by force of arms, by preserving its armed superiority. Were we to succeed in disarming Verwoerd

and his arms suppliers it would be he and not the patriots Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and their comrades who would be in the dock in Pretoria.

The South African government is bent on bringing the strength of its armed forces up to 145,000 men in 1964. It carries out its policy of repressions by means of a police force of 30,000, equipped with armoured cars and automatic weapons received mainly from the "free-world" countries. Aided by Britain, South Africa is now busy reorganising and modernising its Navy. Verwoerd's Air Force is equipped with French Mirage fighters and Alouette jet helicopters. Automatic guns and armoured carriers are manufactured in the country; construction of three munitions works is under way and production of anti-tank missiles and air-ground missiles is about to be launched.

This state of affairs demands from us a reasonable and sober approach. We know that even partial steps towards disarmament and restriction of arms exports to the Republic will help us more than a thousand ultra-revolutionary slogans, will bring our victory nearer and reduce the number of victims.

The attempts by the Chinese leaders to impose their erroneous concepts on the world revolutionary movement and their disruptive activities gravely affect the unity of the progressive forces both internationally and in each country. These attempts act as a brake also on our own struggle, delaying its final victory; in some respects this creates confusion in our ranks which ought to be avoided.

On behalf of the fighting South Africa we urge all workers, anti-fascists, revolutionaries and democrats to reinforce our militant unity, step up the pressure on the capitalist governments in order to complete the isolation of the Verwoerd regime and hasten its downfall.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

Unity is Imperative

(*Letter from Ecuador*)

THE military camarilla in Ecuador have launched another offensive against the progressive and democratic forces in the country. The premises of trade unions and democratic parties have been raided, many revolutionary leaders arrested and bookshops selling Marxist literature, even those whose owners could hardly be called Lefts, wrecked.

"The enemy has been defeated," shouted the military when the arrested trade union and political leaders were brought to the Quinto de Guayas army barracks and army trucks carted away hundreds of books from the bookshops. This initial "operation" was followed by a hunt for those democrats who had evaded the net in the first round-up. The prisons were soon filled to overflowing. Persons arrested in the provinces were brought to the capital and taken to the Garcia Moreno jail, among them the Communist Party leader Pedro Saad who was brought in blindfolded and hands tied behind his back.

In December a number of patriots were captured in Portoviejo, the capital of Manabi province. Here, besides being brutally beaten up, the prisoners were subjected to more refined torture. Live wires were attached to prisoners' ears during interrogation. The torture continued until the victims lost consciousness. One of the comrades arrested in Portoviejo was interrogated in this way for twenty days.

Like many others, Comrade Pedro Saad was taken out into the main courtyard of the Garcia Moreno jail several times and placed against the wall. Mock execution is a favourite method used to break the spirit of the revolutionaries.

Luis Valdivieso, General Secretary of the Labour Federation of Manabi province, was thrown out of a fourth-storey window in the internal affairs building in Guayaquil; his torturers then declared that he had tried to commit suicide.

The repression affected not only Communists and other revolutionaries, but also persons of diverse political views. The Liberal Party leaders Nicolas Castro Benites and Abdon Calderon, and Dionisio Cornejo, private secretary of ex-President Arosemena, were also arrested. Some 200 students were taken into custody during a student demonstration in Quito on January 29.

Among the political prisoners in the Garcia Moreno jail, besides the Communist Party leader Pedro Saad, are the writer Enrique Gil Gilbert, Reynolds, General Secretary of the Guayas branch of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Solon Guerrero, leader of Guayas youth, and the peasant leader Luis Castro.

The dictatorship is trying to consolidate its power by means of terror and persecution, anti-Communist demagogy and promises of a "good life".

The realities are rapidly giving the lie to the militarists' explanation that the *coup* was prompted by the need for a "moral regeneration" of the administration and to "enhance the prestige" of the government. The cost of living has risen 50 per cent, social and economic problems are growing more acute, and the government's policy is incapable of taking the country out of the impasse. Ramon Castro Jijon, head of the government, announced that the power will remain in the hands of the military for as long as it "deems necessary". The people, however, have no intention of sitting back passively and waiting for the "necessity" to end. The struggle against the dictatorship is gaining intensity. Among its more recent manifestations were the student demonstrations with the support of the public against the government's attempts to abolish the autonomy of the universities and subordinate them to the military.

Together with the other revolutionary forces the Communists are in the forefront of the fight for democracy. The reactionaries struck hard at the Communist Party, whose leaders have been thrown into jail; but neither the persecution and provocations nor the splitting activities of the pseudo-revolutionary elements have succeeded in breaking the will of the Communists.

In the recent statement issued by the Executive Committee, the Ecuador Communists, true to the policy of unity, appeal to all progressive forces to join in a broad front of national liberation. Today all democrats and true revolutionaries are uniting around the "people's programme", the political platform adapted by the Seventh Congress of the Party.

This programme calls for immediate action to satisfy the urgent demands of the people: release of the political prisoners, an end to the persecution, restoration of democratic rights, sanctions against all who violate the rights of citizens and betray the national interest, measures to improve the conditions of the people. These points are linked up with the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

In these circumstances, at a time when the unity of the democratic forces is dictated by the logic of the struggle against the yoke of the oligarchy and the imperialist domination, the activities aimed at splitting the Communist Party are grist to the mill of the reactionaries and a boon to imperialism. The splitters are trying to take advantage of the differences introduced into the international Communist movement by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. Operating from abroad, the splitters are seeking the support of the C.P.C. in order to create the impression that they are the most revolutionary people in the country.

Branding the attempts to split the Party, the Ecuador Communists at the same time condemn the disruptive policy of the Chinese leaders. For that policy creates divisions in the parties and undermines their unity, which is the sure guarantee of democratic and revolutionary progress. The statement of the Executive Committee deplores "the differences between the leaders of the Communist Party of China and the rest of the Communist and Workers parties of the world that have arisen as a result of the subjectivist and dogmatic views of the C.P.C. leaders and their false non-Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the times". Their disruptive activities and their ambitions to create a "new international" were characterised by the Executive as reprehensible.

For the Ecuador Communists it is clear that unity of the Party's ranks is the foundation of the unity of the national democratic and revolutionary forces. Without this unity the immediate objective of the people's struggle—the overthrow of the military dictatorship—cannot be achieved. By joining forces, the Ecuador people will be able to accomplish this task and advance towards democracy in the country, to genuine national independence and social progress.

Demetrio Rios

A Victory for the People of Greece

THE release of 421 political prisoners, all of them national resistance fighters, was a resounding victory for the people of Greece. For nearly twenty years these valiant sons of the people endured conditions deliberately designed to break their will and their spirit, to degrade and humiliate them and to destroy them physically.

It is hard to describe the hell endured by these men and women during the long years of confinement. Many of them entered the jail in the prime of life and are now leaving it, white-haired and bent. Many lost their near ones during those years; many, like those released earlier, emerged from jail in broken health. They grieve for the 525 comrades who died in prison, and all their thoughts are with the 121 comrades still behind bars.

But he who dedicates his life to the noblest ideals of man, he who has once known the joy of fighting for these ideals, even though he has tasted the bitterness of defeat, does not lose heart or bow his head in submission. In his hour of trial he maintains unsullied the banner of his ideals.

When the prison gates close behind him the fighter for the people's cause walks with head on high, with pride in his convictions, strong in the knowledge that he has done his duty, and ready to carry on the struggle together with his people for the triumph of their just cause.

The day the prisoners were released was a truly great occasion. Addressing the crowd gathered to welcome them, they reaffirmed their resolve to carry on the fight. "Now that we are free," they declared, "we are joining the ranks of the democratic movement of our country and shall continue together with all our people to fight for the democratic regeneration of Greece, for a happy life."

"I was a Communist, I remain a Communist, and I will fight on like a Communist," said Tony Ambatielos to newspapermen on his release. These words typify the spirit of all the released and of those still behind bars.

In a message to the released National Resistance fighters—"to our members, activists and sympathisers"—the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece paid tribute to their moral qualities and their service to the people. "The Party is proud of you," the message read.

This victory did not come of itself. Like all the measures directed toward the democratisation of the country, this one met with the obdurate resistance of the foreign imperialists, the home reactionaries and their Party, E.R.E., the Party of neo-fascism in our country. Some Right-wing people in the Centre Union Party, the government party, maintain relations with the local and foreign oligarchy. These forces, which predominate in the leadership of the Party and in the government, are in close contact with the ultra-Right.

That is why it required the mobilisation of the big sections of the public combined with a powerful protest of world public opinion to compel the government to release the 421 patriots.

At the same time the government introduced a bill abolishing the emergency measures. The pro-government press has boasted that this step completes the restoration of democratic norms in the country. Alas, this is far from the truth. Though the bill is, undeniably, a step in the right direction, it is nevertheless only a half measure. A number of anti-democratic laws dating back to the civil war period are left practically untouched. For example, Law No. 509, under which the Communist Party was outlawed, still remains in force. In a letter to the Prime Minister and to the president of Parliament requesting that the ban on the Party be lifted, the Central Committee justly pointed out that "regimes which prohibit the Communist parties from functioning legally are generally considered to be the most reactionary. Why should Greece, with its democratic traditions, allow itself to be classed among such countries?"

Exile for political offences is still practised, and for many categories of working people the notorious "certificate of social convictions" is retained. The matter of the return of the political emigres still remains to be solved. In these circumstances how can one speak of the "complete restoration" of democracy in Greece?

The attitude taken by the government in the matter of releasing the political prisoners shows the falsity of its claim to have satisfied the people's aspirations. Before he came to power Papandreu accused the Karamanlis government of using the political

prisoners as "hostages of the Ministry of Justice". One might think that on taking office Papandreu and his Centre Union government would have lost no time in ordering the immediate release of the "hostages". Yet he did nothing of the kind. It was the resolute struggle of the people and the solidarity of world public opinion that forced the government's hand and enabled the patriots to regain their freedom. However, the problem is by no means solved. True, the government bill abolishes the fascist law No. 375, under which 121 Resistance fighters were tried and convicted. In the opinion of all but the most hardened reactionaries, the trials of those days were a travesty of justice. Yet these political prisoners are still in jail, this time as "hostages" of Papandreu and his government.

Many among the public who believed the promises of the Union Centre and voted for it in the recent election are gradually awakening to the realities and coming to see the true state of affairs, which Comrade Kolliannis, First Secretary of the Communist Party, summed up in these words: "The Union Centre Government, under pressure from the public and the members of its own Party, is taking, or promising to take, a number of positive steps. But the people would be making a grave mistake were they to allow themselves to be lulled by the promises of the government and its half-measures and declarations about 'true democracy' and to abandon the struggle for democracy and the solution of other vital issues, or were they to adopt a wait-and-see attitude as the Centre Union advises. Real democracy is what the country needs. . . . It is up to all the democratic forces and their parties to see that the country gets it."

By reinforcing the unity of the democratic forces the people of Greece will secure the liberation of all the champions of democratic and social progress, ensure a general amnesty, open the way to the full restoration and extension of democracy. The fight for this just cause, as before, has the support of all progressive mankind.

D. Lakkas

African Party of Independence will be Victorious

BORN in the fire of struggle the African Party of Independence (API), a new kind of party based on Marxism-Leninism, has played a leading role on the African scene, and particularly in Senegal. From its inception in 1957, when the disintegration of the colonial system had become a reality, our party set before the masses the task of achieving national independence and the socialist reconstruction of the economy.

In the years since, it has been waging ceaseless struggle for these basic aims. Despite persecution, imprisonment, exile and privation, the Party of Independence has been able to regroup and organise the most class conscious and forward-looking people in the working class and among the peasantry and intelligentsia.

After consolidating its positions the Party began to carry out active propaganda and organising work among the population. A students movement was started and headway was made in the trade unions, and in other mass organisations. Our propaganda and slogans inspired the people to action which took the most diverse forms and which often ended in victory. A case in point was the successful campaign launched by us in 1959 around the four slogans: "Africanisation, union, a referendum and independence in 1960".

Alarmed by the Party's influence among the people and the success of its programme, the rulers of Senegal decided to strike at it. Thus during the elections in 1960 the authorities organised gross provocations against the Party and its representatives at the polling stations in Thies, Rufisque, M'Bour, and especially in Saint Louis, where they feared they would be completely defeated. And despite the fact that we did everything in our power to avoid bloodshed, official propaganda howled about the "terrorist activities" of the API. This was used as a pretext to outlaw the Party.

We have been compelled for the past three years to work in illegal conditions. But this has in no way weakened our struggle. The reverse is the case as may be seen from the fact that we have trebled our membership and our slogans meet with a good response. Besides illegal forms of work, we of course use all legal avenues: talks with workers in the enterprises, work in the trade unions and in other mass organisations.

At its congress in 1962 our Party advanced the slogan for a United Front of Independence; the congress considered the establishment of such a front to be one of the basic tasks of the Party. A logical sequel to this slogan was the establishment at the end of last year of the National Democratic Front (NDF), uniting all the forces opposed to Senghor's neo-colonial regime. In December 1963 the NDF officially participated in the general election. It issues the newspaper *La Voix du Peuple*, carries on propaganda explaining the need to fight for complete independence, for a government of national union, the withdrawal of foreign bases, for economic development and for a policy of peace and progress.

The formation of the united front is proof of the failure of the attempts by the reactionaries to isolate the Party by prohibiting it. The birth of the NDF is the first step towards restoring the legal status of our Party.

Our struggle is supported by big sections of the working people; it is also supported by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties.

These circumstances inspire us with confidence that the API will win the day. Its firm step cannot be halted just as socialism's onward march in Africa cannot be halted.

Mack Gör

Amnesty Campaign Continues

ON the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the end of the civil war in Spain the Franco regime announced a general "indulto" ("clemency"[1]). The decree said that this was the ninth act of "clemency" in the past 25 years which Franco has called the "era of peace in Spain".

It is not difficult for anyone to understand how absurd it is to put on a par the "era of peace" and the nine acts of "clemency", each of which was wrested from the regime under pressure from the people.

Reality differs greatly from the picture painted by Franco and his Ministers. Their deception is clear even to those who by no means can be called Left. Indeed, the 25 years of "peace" have been years of tyranny and terror, years of inhuman exploitation and plunder of the workers, peasants and other sections of the people. During the 25 years of Franco more than a million people have had experience of his prisons; 400,000 anti-fascists were killed "legally", and about a million were forced to emigrate in search of work.

Far from being acts of mercy on the part of Franco the "clemencies" have been wrested from him, and against his will, by the fearless struggle of the people, by the protest campaigns conducted by world public opinion which has always expressed its solidarity with the Spanish people. We recall the calls issued by our political prisoners, the documents of the Spanish intellectuals calling for the release of the political prisoners and the powerful demonstrations for amnesty which took place all over the world. We recall how a year ago the whole world was shocked and indignantly protested against the sentence passed by the military tribunal, and later condemned the crime perpetrated by Franco who shot the great patriot, Julian Grimau.

Each of the "clemencies" reveals the true physiognomy of the "generous" Caudillo—his blind hatred of the people and his efforts to perpetuate the civil war spirit. The persecution of patriots has not ceased, and Franco invariably directs his main blow against the Communists, the unbending opponents of his regime. Towards the end of April more arrests were made. Among those arrested was Jose Sandoval, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The fact that the "clemency" decree is not extended to those condemned to death and to those sentenced for a second time (i.e., those who were released and then re-arrested) has resulted in thousands of prisoners having to serve 15, 20 and 25 years before coming under the last two "clemencies".

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[1] The term used in Franco legislation to describe the reduction in the sentences for certain categories of political prisoners. The capitalist press has on more than one occasion lauded the so-called "amnesties" granted by Franco. In reality, however, these "clemencies" have nothing in common with amnesty.

In this sense the general "clemency" of April 1, 1964, is significant. It annuls the basic list of persons condemned *in absentia* compiled on the basis of the sentences formerly passed for "crimes" covered by the general "pardon" of October 9, 1945. (It applies to those sentenced to up to 30 years' imprisonment for "political crimes" during the civil war.) It restores civil rights to those who have not yet served the full terms for the above-mentioned "crimes".

Thus many are no longer affected by previous sentences which have weighed heavily on them over the past 19 years and which created all kinds of obstacles in finding work, housing, etc.

But does this mean that the latest "pardon" is a genuine amnesty? Nothing of the kind. With regard to so-called "military crimes" the decree merely recognises officially the stipulation established by law that sentences passed 25 years ago are void in view of their antiquity.

As to the "clemency" for the so-called "subsequent crimes" committed before April 1, 1964, of which the decree speaks in part two, the penalty is reduced only by one-sixth. Previous "clemencies" went much farther, for they provided for a reduction of the term by one-quarter.

The "clemencies" are a travesty of human rights. An example will prove the point: upon serving three-quarters of his time the prisoner is released "on probation". Now it turns out that the reduction of the sentence by one-quarter is calculated not on the basis of the term established in the original sentence, but on the basis of the term left after a series of previous "clemencies". Thus, the term which the prisoner is forced to serve in jail is relatively prolonged. Moreover, the prison administration has the decisive say in reducing the term as well as the right to apply sanctions against prisoners. By characterising some of the "offences" committed by them as "grave", it can deprive them of the benefit of the "clemency".

Thus, the much lauded April 1 "clemency" decree is yet another fraud designed to deceive our people and world public opinion. And if the dictator believes that by this decree he will be able to silence the protesting voices reaching the Pardo Palace from all parts of Spain and from all over the world, he is mistaken. The protests of Spaniards and the protests of world public opinion resound with growing force, and with each passing day the Franco regime finds it increasingly more difficult to withstand them. Proof of this is the campaign for the release of Jose Sandoval and other patriots, for an amnesty for all the political prisoners and for all the exiles.

Sebastian Sapirain

Books and Journals

Africa—The Way Ahead

JACK WODDIS'S first two studies of contemporary Africa in two volumes *Africa—the Roots of Revolt* and *Africa, the Lion Awakes* published in 1960 and 1961 respectively aroused considerable interest. In those works Woddis examined the economic and social causes of the "wind of change" now sweeping the African continent, and the growth of the national-liberation and working-class movements. In his third study[1] he examines the basic problems of Africa such as: the struggle against neo-colonialism, the road of development after independence, political democracy, socialist perspectives, African unity, etc.

Possibilities of the Non-Capitalist Road of Development

First of all, the author discusses the possibility of the new independent African states taking the non-capitalist way. Defining the non-capitalist road, he says it is not a third road, neither capitalist nor socialist, and it is not a new form of society. It is a transitional phase, a direction that society can take away from capitalism and towards socialism. The non-capitalist road does not preclude, for a time, a capitalist sector with national or foreign capital; but it presupposes ever firmer steps to restrict and contain that sector, while putting increasing emphasis on the state sector.

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[1] Jack Woddis: *Africa, the Way Ahead*. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1963, 174 pp.

The author points to the factors that could impel the new African states to travel this road.

1. The weakness of the national bourgeoisie in most African countries. Due to its lack of experience in the industrial field, it prefers to continue to make its profits in the familiar fields of trade and farming. One consequence of this is to leave industrial development to foreign monopolies. The other consequence is that in the process of the country's liberation the state engages this sphere. Parallel with this, the increasing influence of the mass movement is prodding the development of the state sector, thereby creating the conditions for taking the non-capitalist way and restricting state-capitalist tendencies.

2. In a number of African countries the leaders of the state are representatives of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and leaders of the trade unions. Although these men are sometimes influenced by the ideas of the new and growing capitalist class, they are also subject to pressure from their own workers and peasants who are embracing socialist ideas. They are also influenced by world developments; some of them have studied Marxism and have found in it solutions to their country's problems.

3. The land problem in many African countries consists above all in the fact that the foreign monopolies have seized the best agricultural and the valuable mineral-bearing areas, and have established big plantations for cash crops. The taking over of the foreign plantations is another development that will help Africa to bypass the capitalist stage while at the same time creating a modern socialised production. Also, the traditional forms of land tenure based on common ownership are still widespread in many parts of Africa. It is therefore possible, in the event of the African states turning in a socialist direction, that this collectively-owned property can be preserved and transformed into fully socialist property.

4. There are also favourable external factors: one is the existence of the powerful socialist community. At this time of growing socialist ascendancy in the world, the movements for national liberation in Africa, Asia and Latin America can no longer be confined within the limits of the bourgeois-democratic movements. In addition, there is the important material aid of the socialist countries enabling the new independent states to build up their economy and making it easier for them to choose the road leading to socialism.

Vehicles of Economic Progress

The author dwells in detail on problems of economic growth: the agrarian question, industrialisation, socialist aid, etc.

The key to the destruction of the old colonial pattern is industrialisation. But it should be clear, Woddis emphasises with every justification, that not every industrial development is the right kind needed for the independence and prosperity of Africa. In some countries the development is taking place under aid schemes of the Western powers, aid which in fact is designed to tighten the grip of imperialist exploitation. Schemes of this kind are mainly railroad extension, harbour improvements and extracting minerals for foreign companies. The consequence is retarded growth of national industry, heavy and light.

Genuine industrialisation for the African countries presupposes the building of national industry and the training of a skilled working class. For this the new African states need to mobilise their resources, end the foreign control of their finances by nationalising the big foreign-owned plantations, banks, transport, insurance companies and industrial enterprises. This would help to accumulate the necessary capital, strengthen the state sector and thus facilitate economic planning as well as defence of the national sovereignty.

To develop an economically backward region like Africa, Woddis stresses, requires an exceptional effort on the part of the people, a harnessing of their enthusiasm. This in turn needs the fullest democracy, with complete economic and political rights for the workers.

Democracy and the One-Party System

Broad democracy is the condition for the development of the African countries along the non-capitalist path. Today we are witnessing a peculiar phenomenon in these countries—the emergence of a one-party system. Many Western commentators see in this trend in the African states a trend toward dictatorship. Saying that such parties have been formed in Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Nyasaland and elsewhere, Woddis shows that these parties arose as national parties expressing the demands and inspiring the people in the struggle for political independence. Further he adds: "In the conditions of Africa . . . where class forces are still in a process of formation . . . it is, perhaps, natural that mass national organisations should arise at this stage rather than specific, clearly defined class parties" (p. 99).

Stressing the desire of the African leaders to preserve national unity, prevent the return of colonialism and build up the nation, the author holds—and the experiences of some African territories bear this out—that a single party is most suitable for carrying out these tasks.

However, Woddis also sees dangers which emerge from the one-party system, dangers springing from a failure to appreciate that political parties are expressions of class realities, and that in Africa, where classes are in the process of formation, different class interests exist. He draws the conclusion: in those African states where the national bourgeoisie is dominant, the one-party system may turn out to be a means by which this bourgeoisie can establish a dictatorship over the workers and peasants and disrupt the national unity. In those states where genuine democrats play the leading role, where the working class wields a considerable influence and the national bourgeoisie is weak, the one-party system may, under certain conditions, be conducive to developments of a progressive nature.

The final chapters deal with African unity and the role which Africa can play in the world arena. The idea of unity emerged as a response to the enforced disunity of Africa in the past, as a call for the abolition of artificial boundaries, and as a result of the understanding of the need for a united struggle against the combined forces of imperialism and against racial discrimination, of the need to resist in unison the colonialist and neo-colonialist onslaught. African unity is, therefore, a progressive trend, the author concludes.

In examining the forward-looking character of the United States of Africa slogan, it should be borne in mind that in the new conditions the imperialists resort to collaborating with reactionary African leaders, organise them in blocs and alliances in order to empty this slogan of its revolutionary and democratic content, to influence the African countries to co-operate with the West against Communism. This alien trend disrupts national unity, hampers African unity on a progressive foundation and aids the imperialists in their efforts to restore their domination in old and new forms.

To make this slogan really correspond to African aspirations we should firmly oppose its reactionary side, especially that which divides the world into two camps: "the camp of white men" and the "coloured people's camp". This attitude reflects, of course, the long years of imperialist oppression. We must reject this reactionary concept and expose the evil design behind it, which is to isolate the African peoples from their natural ally—the Socialist camp—from the working-class movement and the forces of democracy, peace and socialism in the world.

The book is undoubtedly a notable contribution to the discussion of these vital African problems which at the same time are a component part of the general problems of peace and socialism.

I. Mustafa

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